

California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

spring 1980



THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, preserves historical materials and facilitates their use by everyone interested in California's heritage. The Society's publications, programs, and library services seek to stimulate interest in and achieve a wider appreciation and knowledge of the historical events and ideas that continue to shape life in California today. Membership is open to all.

Published by the Society since 1922, *California History* magazine investigates the state's history from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews encourage examination of the ongoing historical dialogue between the past and present.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Published quarterly: ©1980 by CHS
Annual subscription and membership \$25.00
Student subscription and membership \$15.00
Single issues \$4.00 plus \$.80 postage.
Back issues and microfilm and xerograph facsimile copies available.

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Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, P.O. Box 3370, San Diego, CA 92103. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

LC 75-640289

ISSN 0612-2897

Second-class postage paid at
San Francisco, California and additional
mailing offices.

Publication number 084180

The California Historical Society is supported
in part by a grant from the San Francisco
Hotel Tax Fund.

COVER

The "Sentinel of Nob Hill" is what newspapers called the unfinished Fairmont Hotel following the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. One individual wrote "No matter in what portion of the City a person is, the Fairmont is to be seen. It stands upon a hill and is in the heart of the burnt district." For more accounts and photos of this history making event please turn to page 34.

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PUBLISHED SINCE 1922

VOLUME LIX SPRING 1980 NO. 1

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Left to right, Josefa, Ignacio, Jr., Ysabel, Reginaldo and Ulipano del Valle, c. 1875.

The del Valle Family and the Fantasy Heritage

In 1949 Carey McWilliams first used the term "Fantasy Heritage" to describe the Anglo-American's propensity to romanticize and mythify the white European, Spanish presence in the American Southwest.¹ McWilliams felt that the most damaging consequence of this heritage had been to rob the mestizos and Indians of their rightful historical importance. He wrote, "Los Angeles is merely one of many cities in the borderlands which has fed itself on a false mythology for so long that it has become a well-fattened paradox".² He cited as examples of this paradox numerous civic celebrations where Anglo-Americans eagerly identified with a pseudo-Spanish past while ignoring the Mexican-American barrios and colonias in their midst.

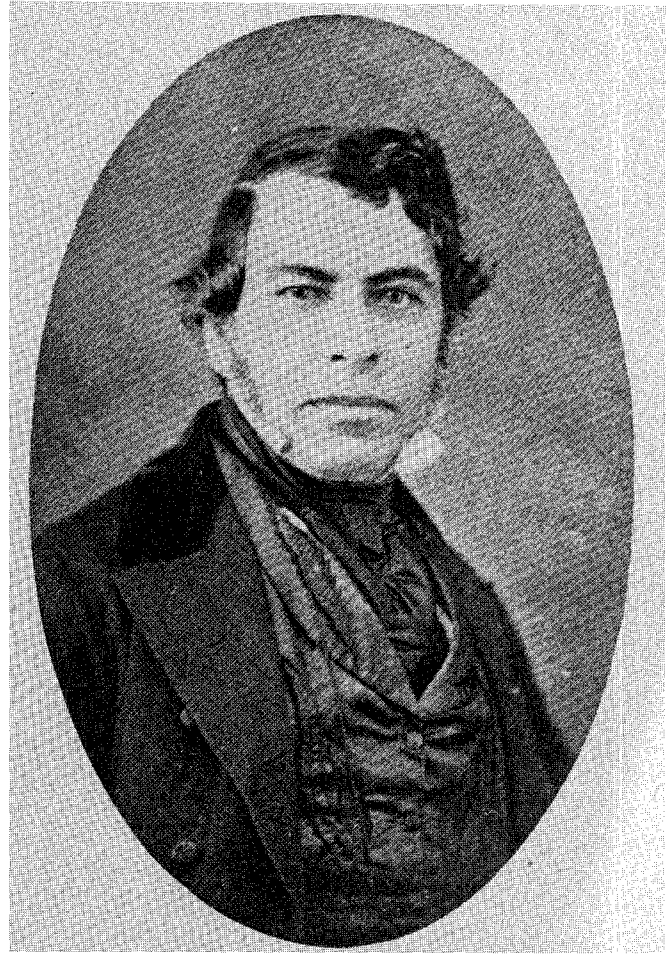
The blame for the creation of the Fantasy Heritage can be equally distributed among historians, novelists, real estate promoters, politicians and journalists. Less well understood is the role that the Californio landed classes and their descendants played in the development of this myth. The Californios were wealthy families who had been given large grants of land by the Spanish and Mexican governments. They considered themselves "Spanish" but in reality they were almost all mestizos, having a mixed cultural and racial heritage.³ Under the Americans they lost their lands to lawyers, squatters and tax collectors. This article is about one Californio family, the del Valles, owners of Rancho Camulos and the role they played in popularizing a Fantasy Heritage in Southern California.

Nestled in the Santa Clara river valley near present day Oxnard and Ventura, Rancho Camulos in the 1880's, seemed to fit a romantic stereotype. Helen Hunt Jackson, the famous author of *Ramona*, visited this spot on January 23, 1883, at the suggestion of Antonio Coronel, an aging Los Angeles politico. He told Mrs. Jackson that the best example of early Californio life was to be found there. She stayed for about four hours and came away with enough impressions to accurately represent the ranch house and surrounding countryside in her novel. Later she wrote, ". . . it was a most interesting place, and the daughters, cousins and sons all as Mexican and un-American as heart could wish."⁴ None of the elder del Valles were home when Mrs. Jackson visited and so she probably saw mostly Indians, mestizos and dark skinned relatives of the family. In her notes she called these people "Mexicans", not Californios.

From Camulos Mrs. Jackson traveled to San Diego and, after a brief stay, to New York City where she wrote the book that she hoped would save the remaining California mission Indians from extinction. A year after the book appeared in 1884, she died of cancer and so did not live to witness its phenomenal success. *Ramona* eventually went

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*Ygnacio del Valle, the first
owner of Rancho Camulos.*



through 135 editions, was published in most languages and served as an inspiration for at least four movies and numerous plays. In the early 1900's the Los Angeles Public Library had 29 copies of the book and a waiting list for readers.⁵

The novel and the romanticism it engendered is credited with awakening interest in things "Spanish" in southern California and, as a result, the novel played a part in preserving the Franciscan missions and countless historical landmarks of the Mexican era. All this, it seems, grew out of Mrs. Jackson's impressions of rancho life in the Santa Clara Valley. But how well did the myth square with the reality?

Camulos in 1883 was one of the few remaining ranchos still owned and operated by native Californios. In 1930 the eldest son of the family, Reginaldo del Valle, wrote a history of his family's homestead.⁶ Reginaldo's great grandfather, Antonio, had gotten the original grant of 11 square leagues from the Mexican government in 1839. He called it Rancho San Francisco. Reginaldo remembered that the mission Indians at the time protested the grant fearing bad treatment from their new master. After Antonio's death in 1841 the government divided the rancho among the heirs. Reginaldo's father Ygnacio got an 1800 acre parcel and called it Rancho Camulos. In his history Reginaldo neglected to mention that Pedro Carillo contested Rancho San Francisco's partition in 1841. Carillo filed an application for a portion of the grant with governor Alvarado. A year later governor Micheltorena ruled in Carillo's favor. The del Valles faced a loss of over 17,000 acres when the Mexican War broke out in 1846. A final settlement favoring the del Valles came in 1855 by the action of the California Board of Land Commissioners.⁷

Reginaldo's history of Camulos mentioned quaint and romantic details: the custom of burying a dead Indian child in the walls; a description of the family chapel furnished with bells from San Fernando

Mission and vestments given by Bishop Mora; an account of how the first gold in California was discovered on the rancho in 1842; and most of all, remembrances of his mother as a self sacrificing, spiritual advisor to the Indians. Missing from Reginaldo's history was how the family had managed to hold on to Camulos despite droughts, falling cattle prices, shyster lawyers, ruinous taxes, prejudicial laws and greedy Anglos. Perhaps this was because the Camulos that Helen Hunt Jackson visited in 1883 and the Camulos that Reginaldo remembered in 1930 was in reality the creation of the American era. It bore little resemblance to the arcadian eden of pre-conquest California.

The del Valle family survived the economic disasters that wiped out other Californio rancheros by selling off portions of their land and by converting the rancho from cattle and sheep production to intensive industrial farming and viticulture. Before the Anglo conquest Ygnacio del Valle had acquired Ran-

cho El Tejon, and in 1857 he bought Rancho Temescal for \$4,000. Through the years the gradual sale of these two ranchos and portions of the Camulos rancho furnished the needed capital to pay off the numerous mortgages Ygnacio contracted during the 1860s and 1870s.

In 1930 Reginaldo remembered that the original partition of Camulos had been for 1800 acres. Actually this had dwindled to 1340 acres by 1886.⁸ As the del Valles sold portions of their rancho to stay solvent, the amazing thing was that Reginaldo and the family were not bitter about the erosion of their landed heritage. An explanation for this was that they were whole heartedly committed to finance capitalism and the new commercial ethic. Reginaldo was a lawyer and a well known politician with many Anglo-American friends. The del Valle children who married, all married Anglo-Americans. The family perhaps felt that it was receiving psychic income from Reginaldo's political prominence and the fame generated by Helen Hunt Jackson and later by Charles Fletcher Lummis. More than this Reginaldo and his family really respected and admired the capitalists who bought portions of their ranch, Henry Newhall and William Wolfskill; and the land was appreciating in value at a fantastic rate.

Much has been made about the "typically Spanish" architecture of the Camulos adobe — a style that has inspired imitators among real estate subdividers and land speculators down through the decades. Actually 16 of the 20 rooms of the adobe home were built after 1850.⁹ A demand for cattle in the gold fields of the north made possible the wealth that financed construction. This prosperity came to an abrupt halt in 1863 when a drought almost wiped them out. In a letter to Joseph Lancaster Brent, a long time friend of the family, Ygnacio reported that he had lost about half of his herd and that he had had to sell portions of his interests in Rancho San Francisco for \$21,000.¹⁰

He sold these lands to a San Francisco based petroleum company with the hope that their exploratory wells would come in and raise the value of the remainder of his land. In his letter to Brent, he didn't mention that his property taxes had risen 200 percent or that he had had to slaughter all his sheep to keep them from suffering.

The disasters of 1862-1863 spelled an end to the Californio owned cattle industry. Seeing that this was so, Ygnacio turned to citrus agriculture, one of the first to do so in Ventura County. He borrowed large sums to invest in fruit and nut trees and wine grapes.¹¹ To supplement income while waiting for full production he leased out grazing lands to local ranchers. Nevertheless, expenses constantly outran income and Ygnacio took out a series of mortgages to remain solvent, one to Newhall in 1876 for \$10,000 at 3 percent a year and another, a few years later, for \$15,776 at 6 percent per year.¹²

There were many expenses. Besides the extended family of legitimate and adopted children, aunts and uncles that numbered 20 persons, almost 200 Indians and Mexicans lived on the rancho. Ygnacio believed in parochial education and at considerable expense he sent all of his children to high schools in Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. His sons, Reginaldo and Ulipano, both attended Santa Clara College. Reginaldo studied several years in San Francisco to become a lawyer. Later, when Reginaldo ran for his first political office, an assembly seat, the family borrowed \$2,000 at 6 percent to pay for his campaign. His later political career probably also put the family deeper into debt.

Despite these expenses and due to costly investments, Camulos became a show place of the new agricultural revolution that was beginning in California. Politicians and promoters began visiting the rancho to praise its productive capacity and beauty.

In 1875 the *Weekly Press* wrote, "The del Valle mansion is a long substantial adobe with wings enclosing three sides of a courtyard. To the rear is a large fountain in which there are many goldfish. Leading out of the gardens is an arbor of grape vines now heavily loaded with luscious fruit. In this garden we saw pomegranate and orange and lemon trees full of half ripe fruit and a tree which would have puzzled an expert to tell the variety, for it had apples, pears and quinces hanging from its limbs. In the large orchard are 4,000 almond trees . . . The improvements made by Don del Valle are one of a substantial character. His wine house, covering a cellar of the same dimensions, is 132 feet long and 36 feet wide, and is built of brick at a cost of \$10,000 and is furnished with all the modern improvements".¹³ Del Valle's winery produced 40,000 gallons a year and Camulos wines and brandies were well known throughout Southern California ten years before Helen Hunt Jackson arrived.

In 1877 two local Ventura politicians reported that "Comulos (*sic*) is evidently destined to become one of the leading health resorts of the state. It is easily reached in a very few hours from either the seaport at Ventura or the railroad at Newhall. The proprietor is thinking of erecting a commodious hotel for the accommodation (*sic*) of the many visitors who, hearing of the far famed orchards and vineyards, come daily to visit them."¹⁴

In 1878 Ygnacio retired and turned the management of the farm over to Joventino, Reginaldo's brother. Later in 1886 Ulipano, the other brother, took over. Ulipano got involved in raising race

horses. Supposedly he reinvested his winnings in the rancho but by 1900 he turned to raising mules.

The del Valles' success story was largely due to intelligent efficient management and luck. The luck was that Ygnacio had acquired enough land in flush times to pay for conversion of the cattle ranch to intensive agriculture. The del Valle brothers provided the efficient management. Reginaldo handled the family's legal and financial affairs. Ulipano and Joventino managed the wine and citrus industry.

Reginaldo, the eldest son, was the leader of the family after his father's retirement and death in 1892. He engaged in a variety of real estate and business ventures to supplement the family income. His legal maneuvers and political contacts undoubtedly helped. After he passed the bar exam in 1877, he bought Rancho Jamacha and Rancho de los Coches in San Diego.¹⁵ In 1886 he formed a partnership with Tom Temple, *La Crónica's* business manager, to form the California and Mexican Land Company. The main transaction of this firm seems to have been the marketing and selling of the family's Rancho Temescal for \$66,695.¹⁶ In 1908 Reginaldo set up a corporation to manage Rancho Camulos. Shares in the company were to be held in trust and income distributed to members of the family. The corporation hired a new manager when Ulipano moved away a short time later.¹⁷

The image of a group of well educated Californios managing the affairs of a middle sized agribusiness corporation hardly squares with the *Ramona* characterizations of the Californio culture. But then, the novel was not intended to accurately portray Californio life in the late nineteenth century. More important was the fact that readers of the book thought that it did. This proved to be a boon to real estate promoters during the 1880s.

At first the del Valles didn't like the book. In the novel Señora Moreno, the matriarch of the rancho,

*Reginaldo del Valle as
a young lawyer in his
late twenties.*



*A group of workers and their
families pose on the veranda
of the Camulos Adobe.*





was a haughty woman, cruel to the local Indians. The del Valles resented this characterization of their beloved mother, Isabel. Reginaldo del Valle was supposed to be Don Felipe, half brother to the half breed Ramona, and he must have been upset when Helen Hunt Jackson had him marrying the Indian girl at the end of the book.

Soon after the novel appeared, curious tourists began showing up at Camulos. Edward Roberts of the *San Francisco Chronicle* visited the rancho and quoted the del Valles as saying, “. . . Many who come here do not believe that we are not the ones they wish to see.”¹⁸ Tourists sometimes ran rampant over the grounds entering into the private rooms of the adobe demanding “Ramony, Ramony, where is Ramony.”¹⁹ By 1896 four passenger trains a day passed by Camulos and on February 12 one was delayed near the rancho for 20 minutes. The *Examiner*

reported, “. . . a mob of 300 of both sexes took advantage of the opportunity to raid the orchards as thoroughly and steal as many oranges as the time would permit, even invading the private grounds and apartments of the house.”²⁰ A few days later Ulipano published a notice prohibiting further tourists from entering the grounds. Reginaldo, who hadn’t lived there since 1877, was quick to see the possibility for profit. He told a *Ventura Free Press* reporter that he was going to build a 40 room Ramona Hotel overlooking the rancho. In 1887 Reginaldo appealed to his long time political enemy Charles Crocker to establish a Southern Pacific station house and appoint an agent at Camulos.²¹ The same year Reginaldo and a group of Californios met with a group of Anglo-Americans and founded the Ramona Parlor of the Native Sons of the Golden West, a fraternal organization dedicated to the “. . . perpetuation of the

A re-enactment of the first meeting of Ramona and Alessandro on the Camulos Rancho. The parts were played by residents of Camulos for the benefit of tourists.

romantic and patriotic past.”²² One of their first items of business was to rename an old oak tree on the rancho, “The Oak of the Golden Dream.”

As wave upon wave of tourists descended on Camulos, Reginaldo’s mother continued to welcome all strangers, giving away food, souvenirs and often putting them up for the night. In one year she provided meals and lodging for about 2,500 people. Reginaldo finally had to instruct his mother to “. . . tell the tourists who come out of curiosity to see Ramona that we don’t have a hotel and we can’t put them up except in unusual circumstances.”²³

The del Valle hospitality furnished good primary material for guidebooks and promoters who were enchanted with Spanish arcadia. In 1888 Walter Lindley wrote a detailed account of Camulos’ annual Fourth of July fiesta. On this occasion the family celebrated a combined Mexican and American Independence day. The guests arrived by train. Señora del Valle welcomed them at the entrance to the garden. A servant showed them to their rooms to freshen up. Then lunch was announced where Senator del Valle presided. The meal consisted of roast pig, various “Spanish” dishes, chiles, olives, a dessert, claret and white wine and black coffee. The afternoon’s program consisted of horseback riding, walking, hunting, singing, reading, mountain climbing or sleeping. They served dinner at 7:00 p.m. in the arbor brightly lit with lanterns. A roast kid meal and groaning board was preceded by a musical interlude with piano, organ and guitar with song. The day ended with a fireworks display.²⁴ The del Valles had

fiestas like this two or three times a year. They usually lasted from three to five days with as many as 100 guests arriving and departing by train.

After 1890 Camulos became less of a tourist attraction when a number of authorities on local history began to question whether Camulos and the del Valles were in fact the inspiration for the *Ramona* novel. The major competitor was San Diego. Fr. Antonio Ubach of Mission San Diego maintained that he had known Ramona personally and that she had been the child of a local Spanish grandee and “. . . one of the most intelligent mission Indians.”²⁵ Fr. Ubach felt that Helen Hunt Jackson had omitted certain sordid details in the *Ramona* story. The San Diego Indians claimed Ramona as their own, wanting to get a piece of the Fantasy Heritage. Condidio Hopkins, an Indian Service Chief of Police on the Cahuilla Indian reservation told reporters that Ramona was his mother. In the 1890s she frequently was an exhibition at the San Bernardino Orange Show.²⁶ Cave Coutts, a local San Diego rancher, held that Ramona was really a Temecula Indian girl he had known, named Matutini.²⁷ The Santa Fe Rail Road advertised that the rancho inspiring the novel was not Camulos, which was near the Southern Pacific Line, but Rancho Guajome, located four and one half miles from their tracks near Mission San Luis Rey and Oceanside. Mr. A. McWhirter, owner of the rancho, offered to conduct tours of Ramona’s adobe for interested tourists.²⁸

Of course, the Ventura and Los Angeles county promoters preferred their version, Camulos was the site and Ramona was a composite character drawn from the real life stories of Blanca Yndart and an Indian girl Guadalupe. According to legend Blanca was an orphaned Spanish girl who had been given as a ward to Señora del Valle. Her mysterious father had entrusted a dowry to the safekeeping of the family. Secretly Isabel kept these “*Ramona Jewels*” under

her bed until Blanca got married. Guadalupe was a mission Indian also given to the del Valles by a Saboba Indian chief.²⁹ A variation of this theme was the opinion that *Ramona* had been inspired by a love affair between an American girl and a local Indian named Ramon Corrales. Forbidden to marry they had run off into the mountains where Ramon had been murdered for horse stealing.

In the spring of 1884 Charles Fletcher Lummis walked into Los Angeles after a cross country hike from Ohio, via the Southwest. He was to play a major role in developing the Fantasy Heritage beyond a sterile debate over places, names and dates. A Harvard educated son of a Methodist minister, he got a job with the *Los Angeles Times* and fell in love with the Californio past.³⁰ He became a good friend of the del Valles and entertained them frequently. When he discovered that Mission San Fernando was being used as a hog farm, he enlisted Reginaldo and the family to head a committee to restore it. Lummis and Reginaldo founded the Landmarks Club in 1887 to preserve old Californio places. Lummis built his home, El Arisal, in Arroyo Seco, a structure that is a mixture of Eastern masonry with Californio shapes, and set about to preserve the fast fading Californio past. After a period of temporary blindness and nervous exhaustion he recuperated at Camulos where he fell in love with Juventino del Valle's daughter. In a gesture befitting the novel *Ramona*, the family forbid the marriage, not because "Don Carlos" was an Indian but because he was a divorced man. Lummis later wrote, "... The old folks were like parents to me. The romance, the traditions, the customs of Camulos are all familiar and all dear to me — not merely because they are Camulos but because that was the Last Stand of the patriarchal life of Spanish California, which was so beautiful to the world for more than a century."³¹

In 1924 the del Valle corporation sold Rancho

Camulos for three million dollars to a Swiss albino, August Rubel, who hoped to explore for oil. The Fantasy Heritage was thus cashed in for a handsome profit.

Although Camulos was gone, the del Valles, and Reginaldo in particular, continued to act out the drama of the past. Reginaldo gave countless speeches for local historical associations, chambers of commerce and Rotary Clubs in Ventura, Los Angeles and Riverside counties. He continued to meet with the descendants of the Jayhawkers during their annual celebrations of their rescue by Ygnacio at Camulos in 1849. Reginaldo and his daughter, Lucretia, were important sponsors of John S. McGroarty's Mission Play. This was a romantic dramatization of *Ramona* performed yearly at Mission San Gabriel. A number of Californios, including the del Valles held stock in the Mission Play Association and loaned money for productions.³² For years Lucretia played Ramona and Reginaldo drove over visiting political dignitaries to see her perform.³³ The Mission Play ran for 20 years and won a commendation from the Pope because it portrayed Franciscan missionaries in a good light.

The Fantasy Heritage played no small part in Reginaldo's long political career. When he first ran for Congress in 1884 the Democrats touted him as the noblest expression of the Spanish race. The San Francisco *Golden Sun* described him as "... born under a Southern Sun, tanned in Spanish hue by its semi-tropic rays, with hair as black as a raven's wing, with eyes dark and piercing, sparkling like an eagle's ... a true child of Southern California. The blood of Spaniards flows in his veins, royal blood, and he is one of the descendants of the native Alta Californians who achieved distinction."³⁴ Reginaldo's defeat in this election proved that there were practical limits to romanticism. His opponent saw through the Spanish claptrap, called him a Mexican and maintained

The Del Valle Family

“... no decent man has ever been born of a Mexican woman.”³⁵ Evidently when it came to meaningful political power, even the most Spanish Californio would have to be happy with being a figurehead.

After his defeat Reginaldo served as a delegate to numerous State Democratic Conventions and was an elector in virtually every presidential election. Introduced to President Grover Cleveland as “a native son and Spanish scholar,” Reginaldo was offered and refused three diplomatic posts.³⁶ Perhaps he recog-

nized that he had no talent for diplomacy. His appointment in 1913 as Woodrow Wilson’s personal representative to Mexico proved that he was right. Being a bilingual Californio and a personal friend of William Jennings Bryan were the only two qualifications he possessed for the job. His mission to Mexico was a total disaster from the beginning to end mainly because of his diplomatic inexperience.³⁷ In 1914, Reginaldo returned to Los Angeles and resumed his long tenure as president of the Public



A view of the courtyard of the Camulos Adobe with a few of the citrus trees planted by Ygnacio del Valle.



Service Board, which later became the Los Angeles Board of Water and Power.

Through an accident of history, Reginaldo del Valle literally presided over the triumph of urban industrial society and the physical destruction of what was left of his Californio past. For years, he was a close friend of the eccentric genius William Mulholland, Los Angeles' Chief Water Engineer. Working closely with Mulholland he had helped construct the Owens Valley project, an endeavor which provoked dynamitings, ridicule and protracted legal battles.³⁸ Throughout the 1920s del Valle and the other four members of the Board unanimously passed every

proposal Mulholland put before them.³⁹

Reginaldo and Bill Mulholland shared a common vision — that of creating a water system that would ensure the urban growth of Los Angeles. During the 1920s this involved constructing a system of reservoirs and dams. One of these projects was the St. Francis Dam located in the San Francisquito canyon. Mulholland, a self educated hydrologist, had personally overseen the construction. When the dam began to spring leaks early in March, 1928, he considered it normal for projects of this type. The night of March 12, the St. Francis Dam crumbled. A mountain of water, mud and concrete rushed down the canyon

and onto the Santa Clara River Valley. The next day 450 people lay dead, buried in the mud. Damage to the land and structures approached 20 million dollars. Rancho Camulos, of course, lay in the path of the flood. While not completely destroyed, the rancho suffered damages to crops, trees and structures of well over 300,000 dollars.⁴⁰ Whole families, many of them long time friends of the del Valles, perished. The St. Francis Dam disaster must have been a deeply personal tragedy to the del Valle family.

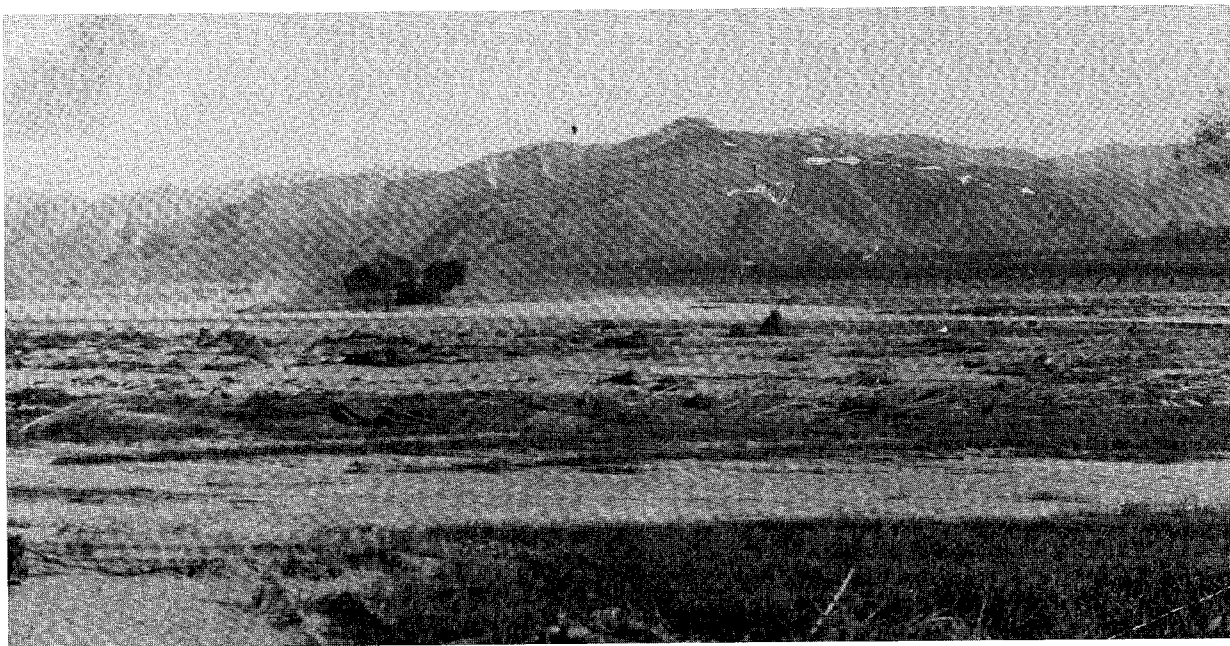
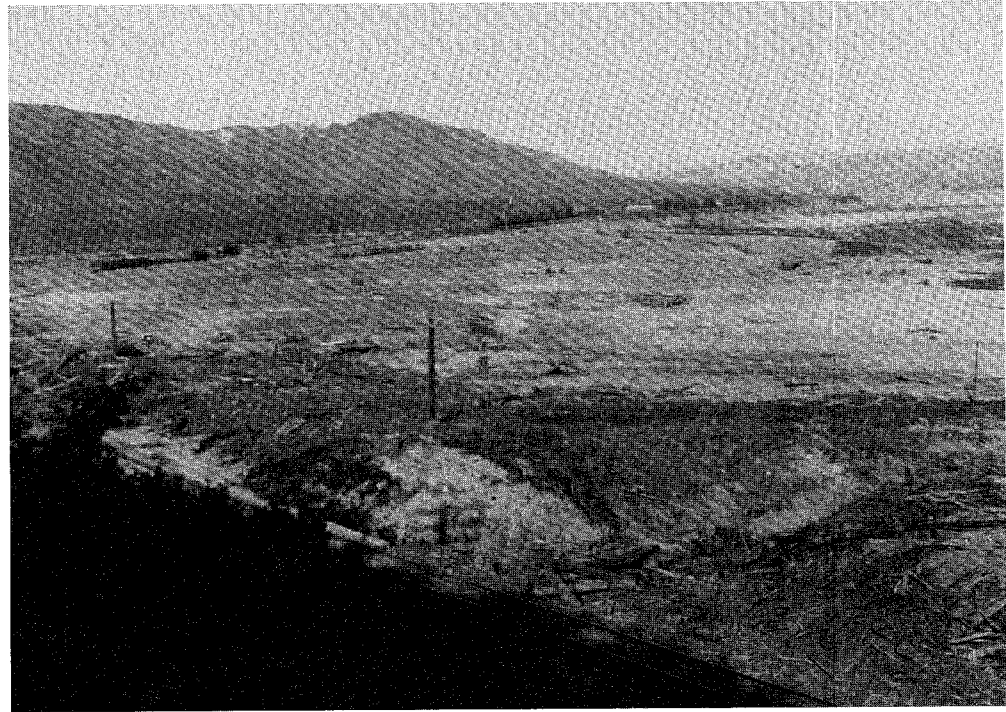
The Californios have frequently been accused of isolating themselves from the Mexican immigrant community in Los Angeles. Considering themselves "Spanish" they looked with scorn on the thousands of working class mestizo and Indian immigrants who flooded Los Angeles in the decades after the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This was not the case with Reginaldo del Valle. He maintained a close friendship with Mexican leaders he had met during his mission to Mexico, like José M. Maytorrena, a former governor of Sonora who had moved to Los Angeles in the 1920s. He occasionally represented Spanish speaking immigrants in the courts.⁴¹ In 1912 he briefly represented General Caryl Ap Rhys Pryce, the former revolutionary leader in Baja California who had captured Tijuana for the Partido Liberal Mexicano.⁴² Reginaldo was also active in forming the San Gabriel Spanish American League. While middle class in composition, it represented an influential body of the newly arrived Spanish speaking immigrants.⁴³ In 1925 del Valle was awarded a

Medal of Merit by the Liga Protectora Latina for his services to the Mexican-American community. The Liga was in the vanguard of defending the rights of the Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles during this period.⁴⁴

On September 21, 1938 Reginaldo del Valle died of a heart attack, and the *Los Angeles Times* and *La Opinion* both carried laudatory accounts of his career. The *Times* highlighted his political successes and noted that he had always disliked being called "Spanish."⁴⁵ *La Opinion's* obituary mentioned his daughter Lucretia's prominent role in McGroarty's Mission Play and claimed that he had been the first to conceive of the storage reservoir system for metropolitan Los Angeles.⁴⁶ Reginaldo del Valle's life and career was an example of how the upper class Mexicanos in California managed to survive and even prosper during the early decades of the American era. True, they exchanged a romanticized view of the past for future political and economic power, and this is perhaps the most serious criticism of them. But after all they were fighting to maintain their self respect in difficult and changing times. Californios, like Reginaldo, really believed in the myth they were helping to create. Perhaps the prominence given to the few surviving Californios fulfilled the needs of the millions of rootless immigrants who migrated to California after 1880. The Fantasy Heritage, after all, gave these newcomers a ready made tradition with which they could identify. From the Californio point of view this same fantasy made it possible for Mexicanos and Angle-Americans to coexist with some degree of mutual respect.

All of the photographs used throughout this article are courtesy of the Ventura County Historical Society and Museum.

Two views of the Santa Clara River Valley after the St. Francis Dam disaster.



The Del Valle Family

Notes

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David Farquharson

Pioneer California Architect

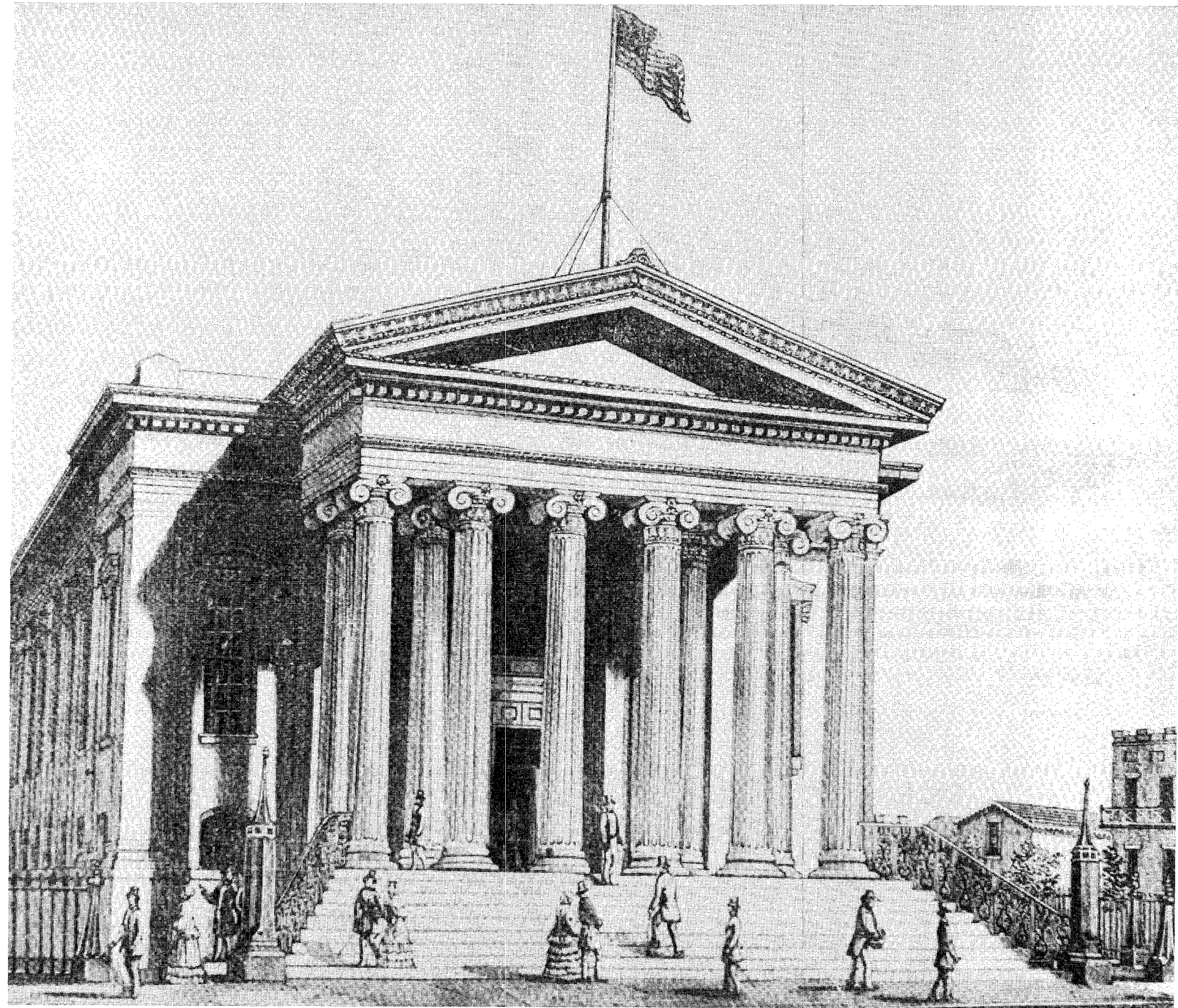
When William Ralston was ready to construct a building for the Bank of California, he chose the architectural firm of Kenitzer & Farquharson to design a symbol fit for the mightiest bank in the state. A few years later when silver kings Flood & O'Brien prepared to open the rival Nevada Bank, they too chose architect David Farquharson, who meanwhile had designed the first university buildings at Berkeley. In twenty years of San Francisco practice he built a dozen major commercial structures.

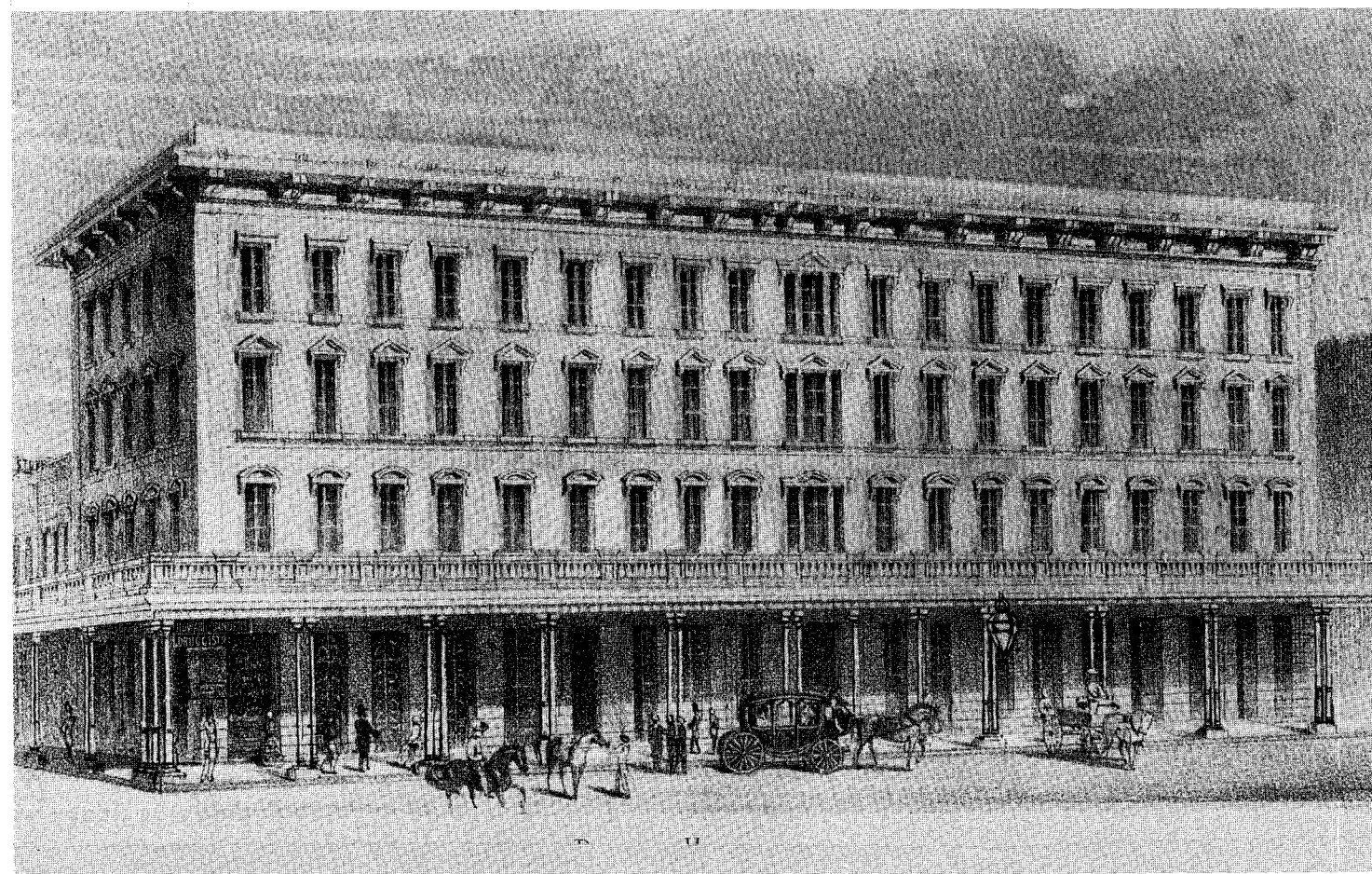
Farquharson's reputation was such that one contemporary wrote: "Of Mr. David Farquharson's ability as an architect it is not necessary to speak. This [Stock Exchange] is not Mr. Farquharson's only building. In it, however, he has, if possible, exceeded himself, and has given us an ornament of unsurpassed artistic merit." Nearly twenty years after his retirement, historian Oscar Shuck identified him as "eminent architect," and another fifteen years later his obituaries recalled he had been "known for many years as one of the city's most prominent architects." In our own decade Harold Kirker rated him with Peter Portois, William Patton and Victor Hoffman among "the brilliant international immigration of 1849-50" who designed the United States' first examples of Beaux-Arts Classicism and early buildings of other Renaissance cognate styles.¹

David Farquharson was born in 1827 in Arbroath, near Dundee, Scotland, and must have received his architectural education in that country. He emigrated directly to California in 1850 with his younger brother Charles, his lifelong assistant. By September 1851 he was setting up business as an architect in Sacramento.²

Anne Bloomfield has published articles about San Francisco history in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* and in *California Living*. She has prepared several Case Reports for the San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board. Some of the material in this article was presented to the North Pacific Coast Chapter, Society of Architectural Historians.

*Architect David Farquharson's Sacramento
Courthouse, a fine example of Greek
Revival style, was the State Capitol
from 1856-1869.*





His most important client was Sacramento County itself. After a fire on July 13, 1854, the Supervisors advertised a competition for plans for a combined Courthouse and Jail. Farquharson won. The brick Courthouse and Jail was completed New Year's Day, 1855, at a cost of \$200,000. It served as the State Capitol Building from that moment until the State moved into the present Capitol in 1869, the County receiving \$12,000 annual rent. In 1909 it was demolished to make room for a larger County Courthouse.³

Farquharson's Courthouse was a lovely Greek Revival building, long admired for its design. Reminiscent of the Maison Carré in Nîmes, its pedimented portico boasted ten tall, fluted Ionic columns $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter and $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, made of brick. The entablature carried around the whole building, and tall Ionic pilasters adorned the sides. The proportions were calculated to inspire awe, respect and a sense of the individual's smallness.

With William F. Knox the architect formed a partnership lasting a couple of years. Since Virginia-born Knox appeared in later Sacramento directories as a carpenter and still later as a contractor who raised streets and buildings, Farquharson was probably the firm's designer. The order of names they used, Knox & Farquharson, might mean the latter avoided the selling aspects of the business.

In 1857 Farquharson executed a commission for construction of the Dawson House, a 200-room hotel at Fourth and J Streets. Four stories and a wide frontage made it one of Sacramento's largest and most imposing buildings. Later renamed the St. George Hotel, it sheltered pedestrians on the sidewalk from summer heat and winter rain with a balcony resting on posts, an arrangement then called a piazza. The building's facade was granite, with pediments over the second and third floor windows.⁴

Farquharson's whereabouts from 1857 to 1862 are a mystery. The brothers withdrew from their Sac-

Farquharson's elegantly simple Dawson House hotel (1857) stood at the southeast corner of Fourth and J Streets in Sacramento until it was demolished for a freeway exit about 1961.

ramento Masonic Lodge in 1857 and only joined a San Francisco Lodge in 1862. In the interval David Farquharson married a Scottish woman, and a daughter was born about 1858 — in Iowa! He did surface briefly in 1860, once again with Knox who may have summoned him from wherever he was, among the seven competitors for designing a permanent State Capitol. Their plan seems to have been thrown together in a hurry, as the drawings were not so finished as their rivals'. They called for a generously proportioned cruciform marble building with a central rotunda topped by a dome 147 feet high. M.F. Butler's design was chosen instead.⁵

Farquharson moved to San Francisco in 1862 and became the partner of German-born Henry Kenitzer, who had arrived in California in 1854 and practiced first with Reuben Clark as partner, then with Farquharson, and finally with Edward Raun until retiring early in the 1880s. The Kenitzer & Farquharson partnership lasted about eight years and produced several distinguished buildings.

When it began, Kenitzer was already working on Lick House, an elegant hotel owned by the pioneer philanthropist James Lick. At the southwest corner of Montgomery and Sutter, it was a three-story brick building with pedimented windows. Rudimentary pavilions divided each facade into five parts. Like Dawson House, the Lick rented the ground floor to stores. Above there was a splendid dining room which gained renown for its cuisine.⁶

Kenitzer & Farquharson's next known commission was for realtors Grissim & Henderson, who owned a 68¾-foot lot on the south side of Bush Street west of Sansome. On a square corner lot next door, the Cosmopolitan Hotel was nearing completion. Constructed in 1864-65, the Kenitzer & Farquharson building devoted floors three, four and five to an annex to the Cosmopolitan Hotel. Ads for the Hotel show a square building on the corner and a non-

matching addition on Bush Street. Even the floor levels in the two buildings were significantly different. The newer part contrasted bowed and grouped windows with the original's flat facade and evenly spaced windows. Instead of a mansard roof oversupplied with dormers, the extension had a heavily bracketed cornice. The shapes of the openings did echo each other: keystoned, round-headed windows on first, fourth and fifth floors in both buildings. The quoins matched. Overall, the Cosmopolitan addition was more balanced in its ornament, whereas the original hotel seems to have slapped ornate roof and entrance onto an otherwise quiet facade.⁷

Meanwhile Kenitzer & Farquharson were working on yet another hotel, The Nucleus, at the eastern corner of Third and Market where the Hearst Building now stands. In 1865 this was the first substantial brick building on Market Street. Its roof was a crested and dormered mansard not unlike that of the original Cosmopolitan Hotel. At first the Market Street facade was only five windows wide. Later it more than quadrupled in size, continuing the same design. Pictures of the expanded Nucleus Building show five sections separated by quoins, with a mansard tower over the center section. Presumably Kenitzer & Farquharson prepared the entire design.⁸

In December 1864 William Ralston purchased the northwest corner of California and Sansome for his Bank of California building. He had the Tehama Hotel moved away and set Kenitzer & Farquharson to work on his ideal bank building. In 1865 laborers began driving the piles, over 300 of them, and the building opened the first of July 1867. Although most contemporary San Francisco business buildings were of brick or brick with cast iron facades, the Bank of California boasted a facade of solid Angel Island blue stone. Some of the blocks weighed up to 7½ tons, and each column shaft was a single stone, 12 feet tall and over 3 tons in weight. The interior

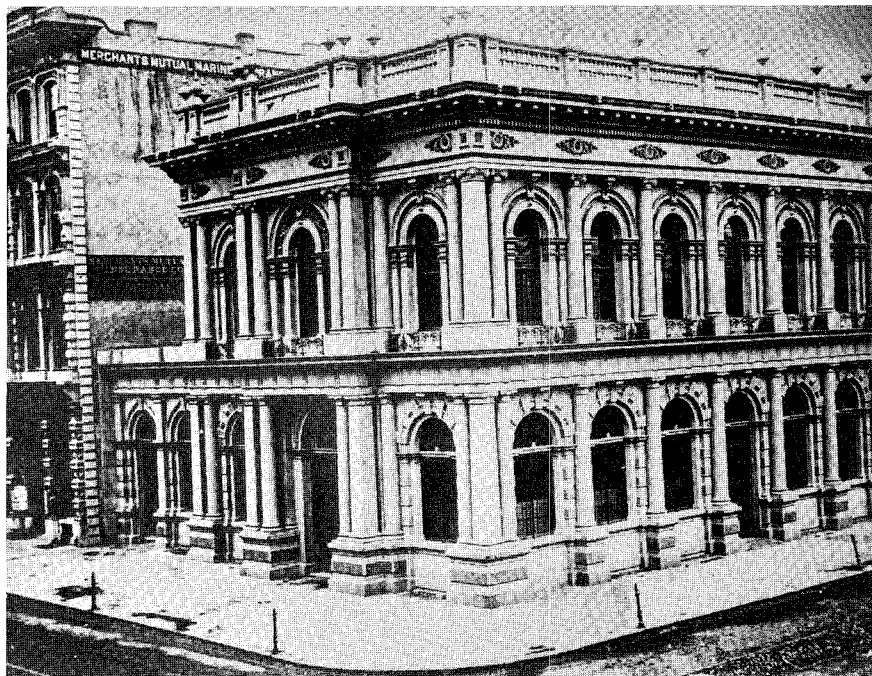
was fitted with mahogany and birdseye maple, black marble, and frescoed ceilings. A little before the 1906 earthquake and fire, the building was demolished to make way for the present, larger Bank of California building by Bliss & Faville.⁹

Ralston had wanted "the most strictly architectural and beautiful structure in the State." Kenitzer & Farquharson gave him an adaptation of Sansovino's sixteenth century Library of St. Mark, which faces the Doge's Palace in Venice. In the 1850s and 1860s quite a few American buildings copied its round-headed windows under keystone arches on columns, in a recess embraced by larger columns. While John P. Gaynor, architect of Ralston's Belmont home, used this window module in easily repeated cast iron for the 1857 Haughwout Building, a New York City Landmark, the Bank of California's solid stone facade may have been unique. The building attracted the eye because of its surrounding air space. It was only two stories high, and its single-story extension left of the facade prevented any neighboring building from crowding it. Other structures came to tower over it; even in the 1860s most commercial buildings were taller, like the five-story Nucleus and Cosmopolitan Hotels. Evidently Ralston and the architects deliberately chose the low structure. They did not see fit to imitate the Library slavishly. The Bank of California substituted solid building for the model's arcade, simplified the entablature and crowned the roofline ballustrade with vases rather than statuary. Altogether the building was a great success for Kenitzer & Farquharson.¹⁰

Their last known project together was the Mercantile Library Building, begun in January 1867 and dedicated June 1868. The Library's treasurer William Ralston may have helped choose the architects. Because of the semi-public nature of the subscription-membership Mercantile Library, an ancestor of today's Mechanics' Library, descriptions of the build-

ing give unusually detailed information on its structure and arrangement. The bearing walls were brick, probably about 5½ feet thick in the basement, 3½ feet thick at ground level and 2½ feet above. For fireproofing, especially important to a library, iron rather than wooden ceilings and girders supported each floor. The facade was of cast iron, except for oil mastic on the plain sections above windows. The ground floor contained two stores, each 18 × 50 feet, flanking a grand entrance hall 26 × 50 × 19 feet high. On the second floor the library room occupied the full frontage, to the same depth as the stores. Identical space on the third floor held the chess and smoking room. Behind this depth of 50 feet plus walls, a public lecture room rose from the basement partly through the ground floor, 58 × 74 × 24 feet high, occupying all the rest of the building at that level. The basement also contained a supper room, dressing rooms and waiting rooms. Circulation between floors was provided in the center of the building by a broad staircase with several landings, lit from a skylight. Rooms above the lecture hall included reference, museum and men's and women's reading rooms. Behind the mansard roof were 24 skylit rental rooms off wide corridors on each side. For heating, all rooms had fireplaces, but the architects also provided a hot-air furnace with appropriate flues.¹¹

Kenitzer & Farquharson's partnership dissolved about 1870, while the two men were working on a master plan for the fledgling University of California. Eventually Farquharson alone received credit, and pay, for the U.C. work. Although in 1865-66 Frederick Law Olmsted had prepared a Berkeley town plan which included a sloping campus oriented toward the view through the Golden Gate, the University Regents acted as if no plan existed, except that in 1870 they paid Olmsted's fee. By 1872 his plan had disappeared, but long before that the Regents had advertised a competition for a new one. Wright &



The great architectural patron William Ralston had Kenitzer & Farquharson design the beautiful Bank of California (1866-67).

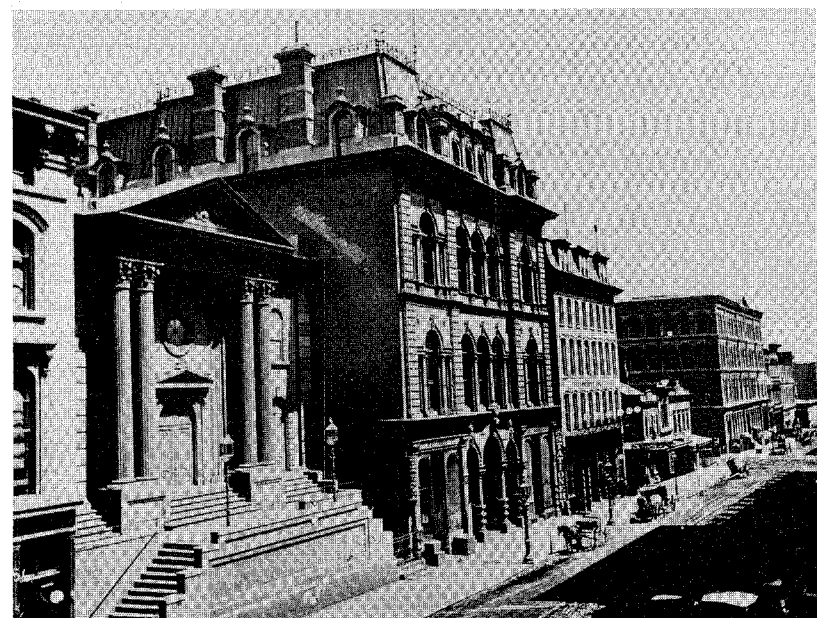
Sanders won, but refused the award when they learned how small the fee was. Instead of going to the runner-up, the Regents, who included Ralston, contracted on August 31, 1869 with Kenitzer & Farquharson for a plan, working drawings, specifications and supervision of construction.¹²

Farquharson's master plan called for six major buildings placed in a shallow triangle facing the Golden Gate and anchored on the south by the College of Agriculture, now called South Hall. The proposal included Colleges of Letters, Mechanic Arts, Civil Engineering and Mines, a Hall of California, professors' houses, dormitories and two observatories. University construction roughly followed Farquharson's guidelines until about 1890, with four major buildings, student housing and an observatory located approximately as he had suggested, though only half were his designs. A gymnasium was added off to one side. In April 1870 construction began on the plan's first building, South Hall, under the architect's supervision. But by the end of the year funds ran out and the nearly complete basement was covered over.¹³

Meanwhile Farquharson was busy on a new kind of venture, combining his own capital with his architectural expertise. In the suburbs west of San Francisco proper he bought the block bounded by Buchanan, Washington, Webster and Jackson

Streets. Its proximity to a horse car line under construction assured access and commercial viability. Farquharson proposed to subdivide the block and erect 40 units of speculative housing, to be sold "on the installment plan." Though Farquharson's tract was probably San Francisco's largest up to that time, elements of his operation had been in the air. During the 1860s several homestead associations had popularized buying small, house-sized lots on time payments, encouraging home-ownership among workingmen. By 1870 it was apparent that disappointingly little construction followed the lot buying, and small groups of houses began to be built on speculation. Farquharson made a new departure only in the size of his response to the need for housing. Several others had larger projects in hand before Farquharson had sold all of his.¹⁴

The tract acquired the name "Tuckerville" after J. W. Tucker, popular San Francisco jeweler, who helped with the financing and selling and who took over the last dwindling sales. Two sources show Farquharson's involvement in the project. A July 1870 newspaper ad read, "The Plans and Specifications of a Block of Buildings to be erected by David Farquharson, Esq. are on exhibition at J. W. Tucker & Co's Jewelry Store . . ." Farquharson himself became owner of record of the whole block in August 1870, paying \$45,000. Records from



For the Mercantile Library Building of 1867-68 (center, next to Calvary Church) Kenitzer & Farquharson used modish French Second Empire style.

November 1870 through March 1871 show he sold a total of twenty-six 25-foot lots with houses to individual homeowners on the four sides of the block, price \$2,800 to \$3,500. In addition, Tucker bought seven houses and resold five. Tuckerville appeared among "Prominent Places" in San Francisco directories for a decade and a half beginning in 1874. This Tuckerville occupied both Farquharson's block and the one to the north, where in 1873 Charles H. Killey, a realtor at Union and Webster, sold five houses in a row, of which 2223 Pacific remains. Whether Farquharson was involved is not known, but by that time he'd invested his capital elsewhere.¹⁵

The Tuckerville houses were modest, one-story duplexes with octagonal bays and large gardens. Farquharson had them all painted white. The outdoor surroundings were so featured that a later writer recalled "that pretty square block of birdcage houses, each set in a garden of roses." Only 2209 Jackson survives; it's both parts of a duplex.¹⁶

Back on the Berkeley campus the University Regents prevailed upon the State Legislature to appropriate \$300,000 for construction, and to grant them special exemption from the 1870 requirement of labor at day rates, thus allowing them to use the less expensive contract rates. In 1872 the foundation cover was removed and Farquharson resumed his careful supervision of the brick and granite South Hall. He described it in the 1872-1873 *Regents Report*:

The College of Agriculture has a frontage of 152 feet with an average width of 56 feet. There are four stories in all, and 34 rooms in the building, six of them being 32 × 48 feet . . .

There is one great staircase near the center of the building, and an elevator is also provided . . . the principle (*sic*) halls, rooms and corridors are to be heated by steam . . . Gas pipes are arranged for lighting, and fire hose supplied to every floor.

The basement is built of the best Folsom granite, dressed as rock face ashlar, and capped with fine cut water table. The main walls are faced with pressed brick, and the whole of the window dressings, coins, pilasters, belts, etc. of cast iron. The building is bonded throughout in every direction with wrought iron, and the floors are supported by heavy wrought iron girders. The roof is of slate and is surmounted by a cast iron cresting. The whole interior finish is of white cedar wood, varnished.

The furniture and fittings of laboratories, lecture rooms etc. are in walnut and laurel woods . . .¹⁷

South Hall opened in 1873 as the College of Agriculture, housing the physical sciences, natural history, museum and library. Now the School of Library Science and Information Studies, its exterior is little changed from the original, except for elimination of the west entrance to make space for Wheeler Hall, and splitting into two the formerly single-flight east stairs. Inside, the grand staircase retains its glossy golden ballustrade.

Early in 1873 heavy enrollment at the University's temporary Oakland campus prompted the Regents

to authorize construction of another permanent building, the College of Letters or North Hall, on the present site of the Bancroft Library. Building Committee Chairman Dr. Samuel Merritt, an Oakland dentist and builder, was impatient with Farquharson's careful supervision of the fireproof construction. Ignoring conflict-of-interest legislation, he set his favorite contractors to work on the second building. He used Farquharson's design, without paying or consulting him, and had George J. Newsom alter it for a wooden structure. Finishing first, he considered North Hall a personal triumph and rammed a resolution through the Regents to assess damages against the architect unless South Hall were finished in three weeks. At least Merritt had had the sense to use Farquharson's imposing facade, which visually balanced the two Halls. Both had four floors counting basements, somewhat similar dimensions, mansard roofs and matching window trim. The upper stories of North Hall were demolished in 1917, the rest in 1931; it was considered a fire hazard.¹⁸

While tilting with the University Trustees, Far-

quharson put forth another capital venture, this time almost totally unrelated to architecture. It was a bank, the California Savings & Loan Society, incorporated June 24, 1873, with David Farquharson as president. A good deal of organization preceded that date; the papers of incorporation list \$300,000 of capital stock paid in by 74 individuals. Former Governor and U.S. Senator Milton S. Latham headed the list, followed by Charles Lux, of the Miller & Lux land and cattle empire. Many of the stockholders were prominent men, and half were Farquharson's professional contacts: realtors, suppliers, contractors and other architects. By the end of 1874 California Savings & Loan reported \$272,194 in deposits and \$319,347 loaned out. Regular deposits, a little more than half the total, were invested in city real estate, which may have included the Tuckerville mortgages. Term deposits were "chiefly invested in agricultural lands in the valleys of the counties around our bay." Farquharson remained president of the Society till his death in 1914.¹⁹

Founding his own bank seemed, if anything, to



In 1870 Farquharson suggested six "spacious and elegant buildings" for the University of California (from left): the College of Mines, the College of Civil Engineering, the College of Mechanic Arts, the Hall of California (Bacon), the College of Letters (North Hall), and the College of Agriculture (South Hall).

Farquharson's North Hall (center, 1873) and South Hall (left, 1870-73) made a harmonious ensemble on the Berkeley campus, although one was built of wood and the other of brick and granite. South Hall is the architect's only known surviving major work.

encourage other banks to retain his professional services. Farquharson's next major work, commissioned by his stockholder Milton Latham, was the Bank of London & San Francisco, at the northwest corner of California and Leidesdorff, built in 1873-74 of brick with a cast iron facade. Originally three stories high with an elaborate upper entablature and ballustrade, it survived the earthquake and fire of 1906, but the inside had to be rebuilt. D. H. Burnham & Co., with Willis Polk in charge, removed the cornice and added a quieter fourth story.²⁰

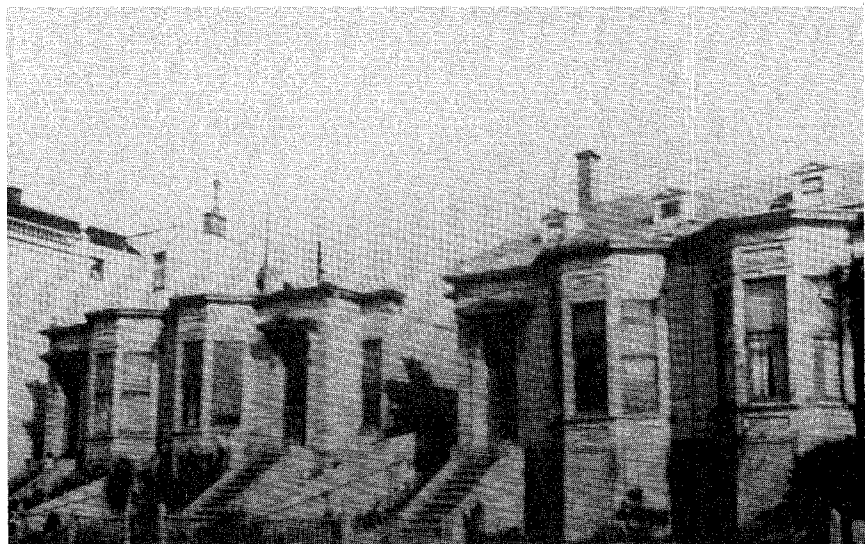
Farquharson's design featured round-headed windows set in pairs on the California facade and at corner pavilions, and singly in a colonnade on the side street. Small engaged columns in recesses supported the window arches, larger columns stood between, with a different order at each story: Doric below, Ionic at the second story and Corinthian above. Other ornaments included male caryatids, pediments, ballustrade vases, fruit and flower relief, interlace and, originally, a British lion and a Califor-

nia bear above the door. The architect carefully balanced each facade with corners marked separately and with a heavy base supporting the columns.

When Wells Fargo demolished the bank building in 1959, part of the corner was saved. The second-floor pedimented window surround is featured in the Oakland Museum's central art gallery. The entrance lies in pieces behind the North Point sewer plant. The remains display the maker's name, "Hinckley & Co., Fulton Iron Works, 1873." They also show iron a half-inch thick and columns stuffed with cemented brick. The male caryatids which survived the 1906 fire may not survive the rust.

Farquharson ended his Berkeley campus work with the first student housing, erected in 1874 for \$21,600. Six cottages for men stood until 1932 on the site of Edwards Field, and two for women near what's now the Faculty Club. Each one-story cottage had five rooms for two students apiece, plus hall, dining room, kitchen, service area (or scullery) and yard. The only closet and the only possible plumb-

Jeweler J. W. Tucker provided financial backing for Farquharson to build the inexpensive "Tuckerville" tract houses in 1870.





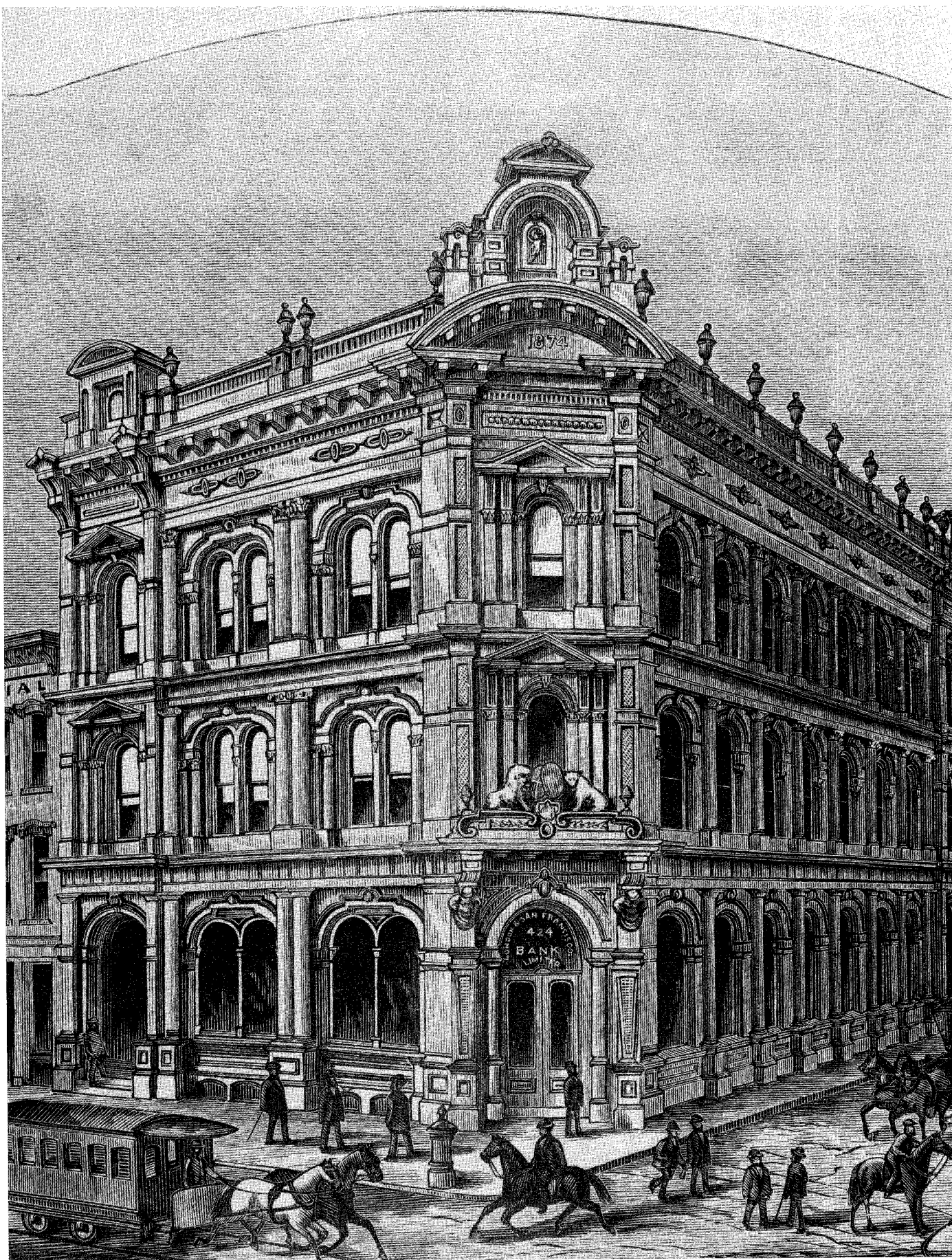
ing, one “sink,” were in the kitchen. The University charged \$300 a year and filled them easily. Resembling standard residences of the period, the wooden cottages had horizontal siding, overhanging eaves with fancy barge boards, roof cresting and a bay window each.²¹

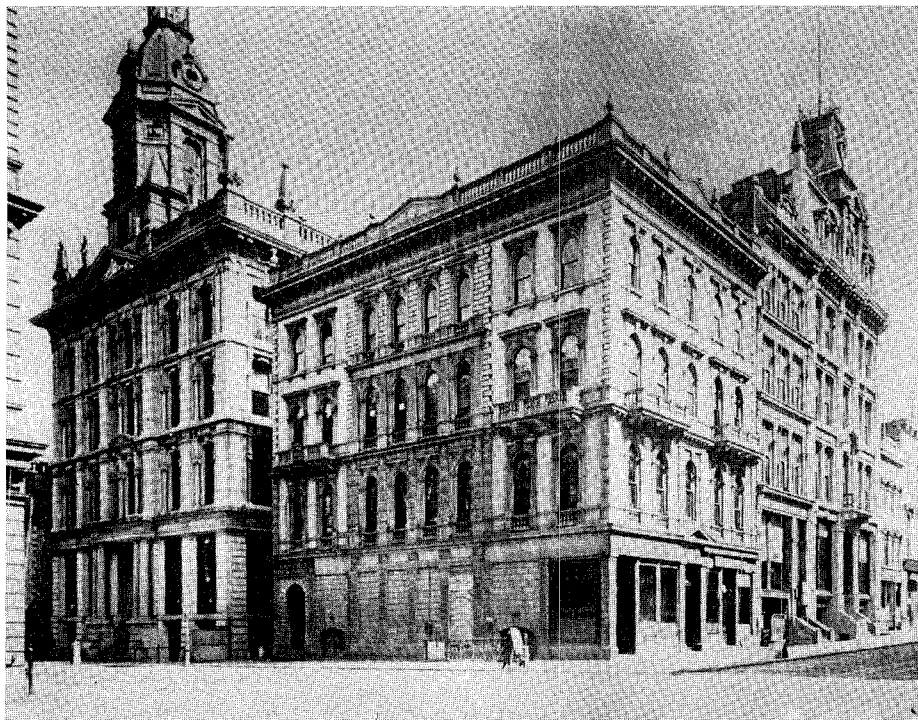
Back in San Francisco another bank claimed Farquharson’s attention. The Comstock silver kings Flood & O’Brien were organizing a competitor to the mighty Bank of California and proposed to begin operations not in some temporary structure but in their own magnificent building, on a prime $125 \times 137\frac{1}{2}$ -foot site at the northwest corner of Montgomery and Pine Streets. Money was no obstacle to the silver kings. When the Nevada Bank opened its doors on October 4, 1875, they had spent some \$700,000 on land and construction before doing a dollar’s worth of business.²²

Farquharson had given these lucky miners and

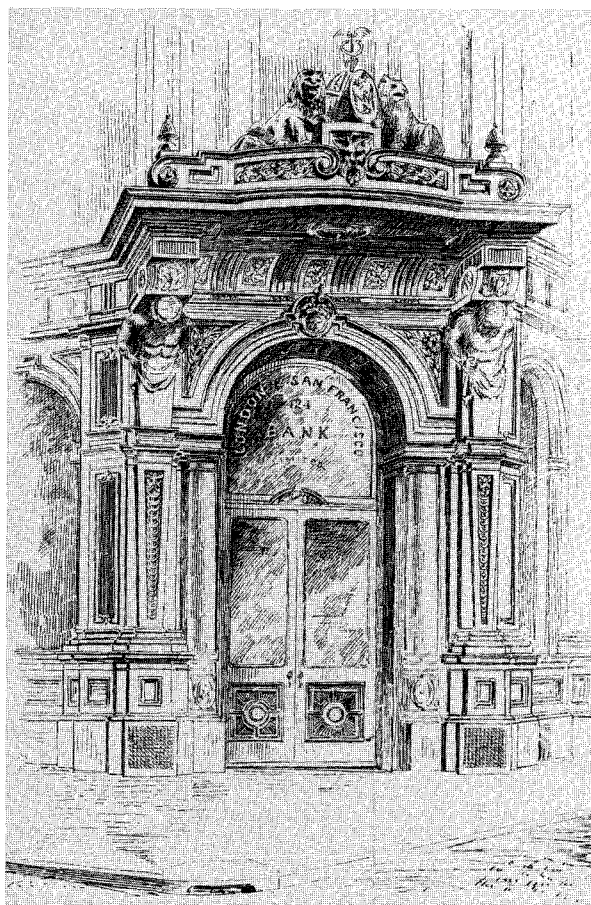
crafty manipulators a building to outshout any competition. It had a stone basement, iron-fronted main floor, and brick and iron together on the three stories above. Many windows repeated the Sansovino module on the Bank of California, but there were more engaged columns, a fancier cornice, visible roof with high iron cresting, and turrets. However the omnipresent ornaments were appropriate to the building’s great size. Bands of pillowy rustication ran up the facade at corners and centers, and deep shadows defined proportions.

Publicity about the Nevada Block, as the combination bank and office building was called, boasted its substantiality and resistance to fire and earthquake. But the catastrophe of 1906 laid bare the structure inside its walls, enabling the architect John Cotter Pelton to notice what he believed was the first reinforcing column ever placed in a modern wall. He gave due tribute to the Nevada Block’s architect





This photograph taken from the Nevada Block shows two more of Farquharson's seven major buildings near the Montgomery-Pine intersection: the Stock Exchange (tower on left) and the Real Estate Associates' Building (tower on right, both 1876-78).



Eleanor Gibsons' etching (left) and Farquharson's own drawing (right) show the London & San Francisco Bank as designed in 1873. Between the 1906 fire and its demolition in 1959, this cast iron structure looked less fanciful, thanks to the addition of a sober attic story and the removal of the California bear and British lion.

Farquharson's largest and most expensive commission, the Nevada Block (1875) symbolized its owners' solid opulence, while concealing the structural innovation of weight-bearing columns.

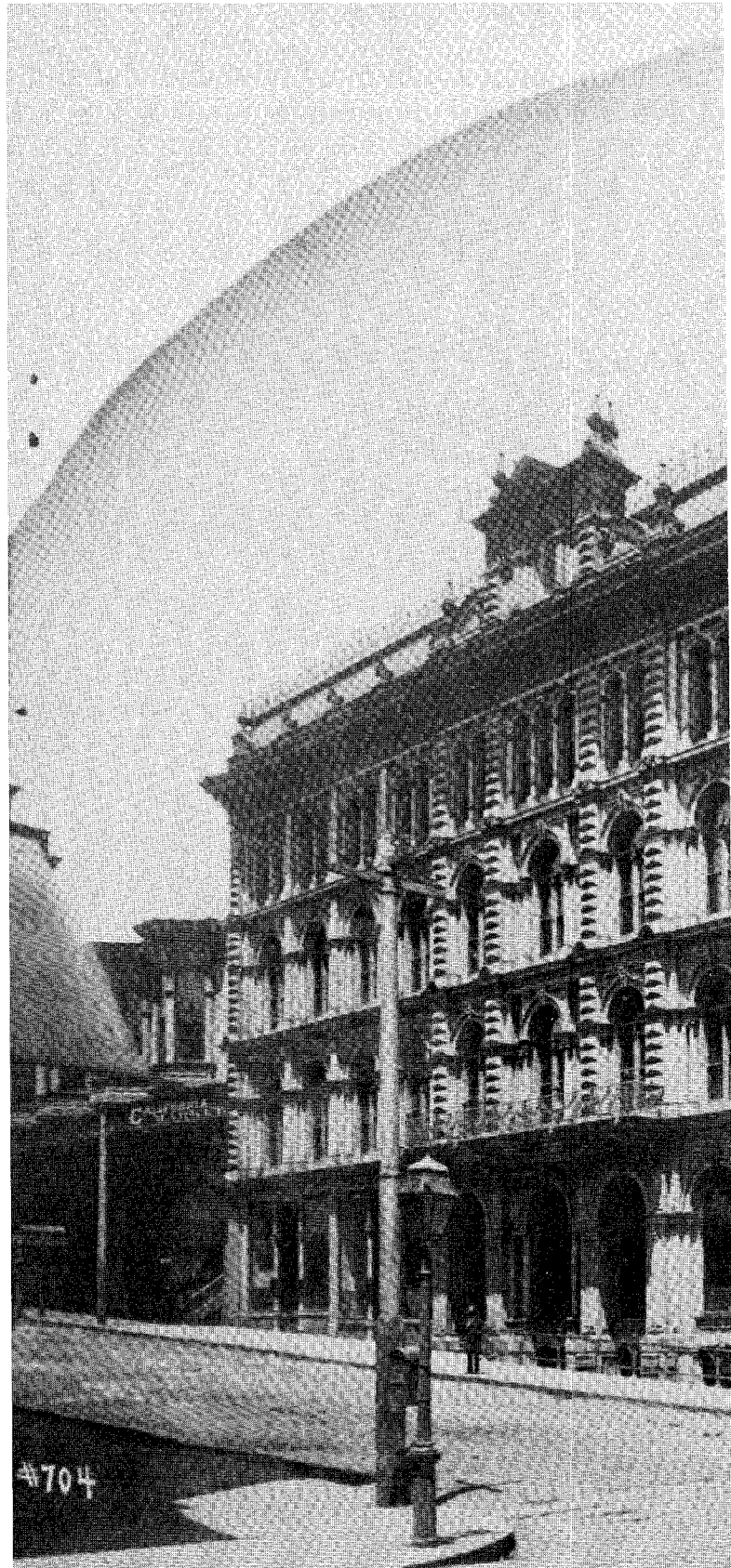
David Farquharson as a structural innovator.²³

Innovation had nothing to do with the residence Farquharson designed in 1875 at 1916 Jackson Street for Frederick W. Macondray, importer, insurer and owner of a packet line to Hong Kong. Long gone, the three-story and basement frame was in the vanguard of its era with iron cresting and bays roofed to suggest turrets. Its centered portico indicated a symmetrical, axial floor plan double that of the usual San Francisco Victorian. Though Farquharson may have designed many private residences on commission, the Macondray house is the only one for which records survive. The California Historical Society has the Contract, made on Farquharson's printed form with blanks to fill in. The \$14,840 contract is similar to ones used now, its heart being:

Said work is to be executed in strict accordance with the plans and specifications for the same, prepared by David Farquharson, Architect . . . and hereby made a part of this contract . . . [Contractor Edward Farrell promises to build it] to the full satisfaction of said Architect, and under his direction and superintendence, and as provided for in said plans and specifications.

The hand-written estimate and extra work included bath rooms [*sic*], water closets, two coats of plaster and three of paint inside and out, doors grained, no cornice or center, no mantles, but dining room wainscoting, ground glass in sliding door, hardwood hall floor, and fencing on all four sides.²⁴

The financial community's next call on Farquharson came from San Francisco Stock Exchange president John W. Coleman. After fourteen years in rented quarters, the Exchange was ready in 1876 to erect its own building on the south side of Pine Street, east of Montgomery. As in the Nevada Block, the architect must have used reinforcing columns within the masonry walls because the Board Room, or exchange floor, measured about 77 feet square, leaving only a foot of the lot's width for the thickness of two exterior walls. The earthquake of 1906 did not





harm the building, but it was dynamited in a vain effort to halt the subsequent fire.²⁵

In pictures the Stock Exchange looks like a precursor of the stick style wooden houses that filled residential districts a decade later. It featured verticals between the windows, and the facade rose nearly 70 feet before arch or curve broke its straight lines. The most discussed exterior feature was the horizontal stripes of light and dark granite. Inside there was Belgian black and Tennessee gray marble. To ventilate the Board Room Farquharson designed a semi-domed and perforated ceiling, one example of the "practical details . . . peculiar to the purposes of the building" in which at least one writer found "proof that a good architect must be something more than an artist," a significant remark for the days before form had to follow function.²⁶

Farquharson's next work, The Real Estate Associates' Building, looked almost like a curtain-wall structure, windows occupying most of the 44-foot-wide facade. The massiveness of the Nevada Bank had disappeared entirely. Although contemporary reports mention only a brick structure, it must have incorporated reinforcing columns, and like the Stock Exchange it repudiated the least suggestion of supporting arches. The granite facing was limited to trim, carved in a motley of styles from Egyptian Revival to heads and arabesques. Perhaps quarrier G. Griffiths had persuaded the client to give his granite carvers free rein. The Real Estate Associates, who built and sold nearly a thousand frame houses in tracts not unlike Farquharson's Tuckerville, hoped this office building would perpetuate their name and record.²⁷

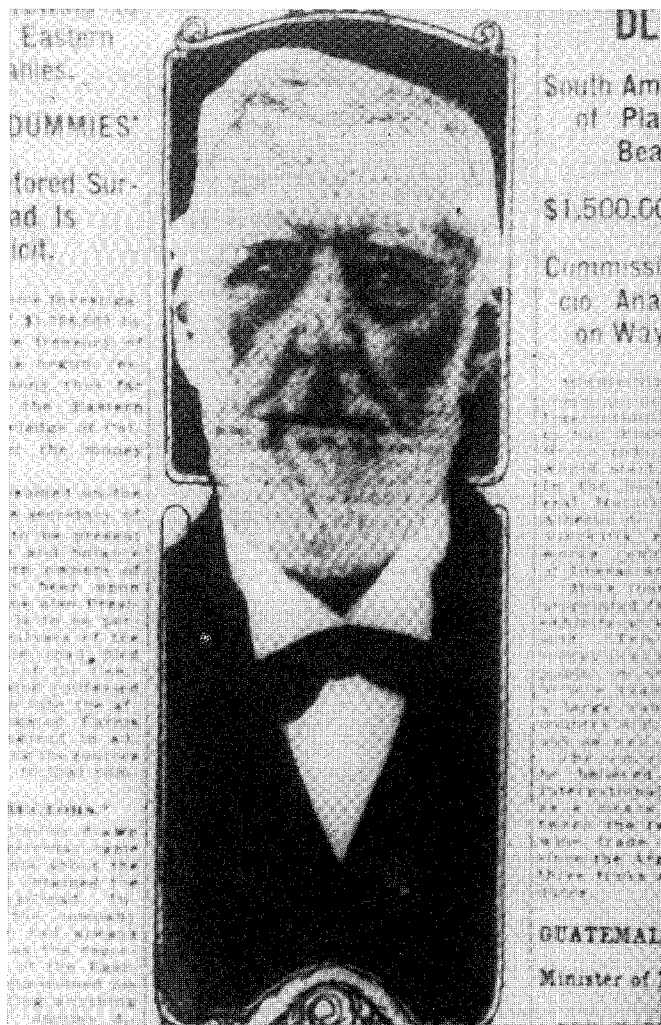
Farquharson perpetuated the record of his own California Savings & Loan Society with a building at the northwest corner of Powell and Eddy. Called St. Ann's Building after the local valley, it was brick and five stories high with tower, ballustrade, and a flight

of steps up to the corner entrance. Each floor had a different window design, all of iron cast in molds for easy repetition. On the first floor engaged columns separated large windows; on the second, keystones accented arches; and on the fourth, pediments stood above rectangular windows. With four entrances and at least one elevator, St. Ann's functioned as an office building. Several architects practised here, and from his own California Savings & Loan office Farquharson watched the ladies arriving at the Baldwin Theater's matinees across the street. The building was destroyed in the 1906 fire. Farquharson had bought the lot in 1876 for \$100,000, and he finished construction in time for the 1878 *Directory* to list his office at this address.²⁸

The late 1870s were bad years for San Francisco architects because of a local depression. Farquharson more and more seriously considered leaving the profession. After 1878 he dropped his directory listing as an architect in favor of the Savings & Loan presidency. In August 1879 Charles de Young of the *Chronicle* nominated him for mayor, but that was the year mass unemployment produced sandlot Kearneyism and a winning combination of the Workingmen's Party and Isaac Kallach for mayor. Farquharson withdrew from the race after two weeks.²⁹

He designed his architectural swansong in 1880-1881, two buildings side by side on Market Street. Four-story brick structures of similar heights, the Holbrook Block and the Arizona Block occupied the entire frontage from Beale to Main. Not especially distinguished in either structure or design, they continued the pattern of stores at ground level and offices above, with a different window design on each floor. Cornices and parapets encouraged fanciful ornaments, but the architect seemed only to be repeating himself.³⁰

After these buildings Farquharson definitely cast



David Farquharson's portrait appeared with his obituary, more than thirty years after he had retired from the field of architecture.

his lot as a banker and capitalist. Retiring from his profession before the age of 55, he seemed to have no lack of money. The family was listed in the *San Francisco Bluebook* and his wife Jessie was an acknowledged social leader, active in the First Unitarian Church. Farquharson himself had belonged to the Masons, the Society of Territorial Pioneers, the St. Andrews Society and the Bohemian Club. After the 1906 fire he moved into the Fairmont Hotel. Till the age of 80 he paid to have his directory listing in large type.³¹

Part of the money to support such a life came from obvious sources: savings from the successful pursuit of his profession, rentals in the St. Ann Building and dividends from California Savings & Loan Society. He invested in and began developing the Visitacion Water Company, with his brother Charles as manager. Its works, and presumably its customers,

were in what is now the southeastern part of San Francisco. By 1888 the water company had not begun to pay dividends, nor was it likely to; heavy expenses and fierce competition offset the monthly revenues of about \$1200. The company has disappeared. Other sources of Farquharson's income are unclear.³²

If they were mysterious, probably the California Savings & Loan Society held the key (The current Association of this name is not related to Farquharson's company). For a dozen years beginning in the late 1890s San Francisco directories show the Society in the process of liquidation. Yet Farquharson continued throughout his life to be listed as its president. This may have been family catering to the vanity of an old man; or perhaps the answer lies in the Miller & Lux land and cattle empire. Both Henry Miller and Charles Lux held stock in California Savings & Loan. Banking authority Ira Cross and the Society's 1874 annual report agree that it made loans on agricultural land in the interior of the state, which could mean land Miller & Lux owned or leased. According to his biography, when Miller swallowed the San Joaquin & Kings River Canal Company, its prime investor W. S. Chapman "lost his vast east side lands to the Scotch capitalists who had advanced him money." Were those Scotch capitalists the Farquharson brothers? Miller & Lux may have leased the ex-Chapman lands; it's recorded that they paid \$20,000 annually on leases, \$14,000 of it to one person. Perhaps some of the vast Miller & Lux income supported Farquharson for the 33 years after he retired from architecture.³³

He liked to watch the progress of his former students. Apprenticeship had been the only architectural education available in this country, and Farquharson had trained his share, including Edward R. Swain, who designed the Whittier Mansion, California Historical Society headquarters; Clinton Day, who

planned the Spring Valley Water Company building, better known as the City of Paris; John J. Clark, who did a lot of small work for the Catholic Church; and Thomas J. Welsh, who designed Sacred Heart Church on Fillmore. All worked under Farquharson at one time or another, all learned from him and profited from the fine architectural library which Dr. Kirker claims he had.³⁴

In addition to his students, Farquharson's contributions as an architect had been great. In a quarter century of practice in California he had created a number of buildings outstanding in beauty: the Sacramento Courthouse of 1854, the Bank of California of 1867, the University of California's South Hall, the Bank of London & San Francisco of 1873-74, and the Nevada Bank of 1875. He pioneered quality architecture in the state and mass, low-cost speculative housing in the city. He was one of the first in the west to put iron girders in a building. He was probably the very first person to put a weight-bearing iron column inside a masonry wall, thereby increasing available floorspace and moving toward the steel-frame, glass-curtain-wall structures of the twentieth century. He provided creative floor arrangements tailored to the clients' special needs. The concentration of seven major buildings within 500 feet of the Montgomery and Pine intersection witnessed his popularity, his prominence and his skill. Sadly, all but one of the seven had gone before he himself died, and now his only major building left is South Hall.

The University of California illustrations and the Tuckerville photograph are courtesy of the Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley. Farquharson's drawing is reproduced from *The California Architect & Building News*, XI, 10 (October 1890), 107, courtesy of the Environmental Design Library, U.C. Berkeley. Farquharson's portrait is from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 21, 1914, 11. All other illustrations are from the CHS Library.

Notes

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The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire

Photographs and Manuscripts from the
California Historical Society Library

California has always been plagued by earthquakes. The earliest written account of an earthquake in California was made by Spanish explorers, who in 1790 recorded a report by Indians of an earthquake eighty years before, in what is now the Owens Valley. During the period 1900-1974 alone there were 39,578 earthquakes of all sizes in California, and of these, approximately 3600 were at least 4.0 on the Richter scale; that is, strong enough to be felt.¹

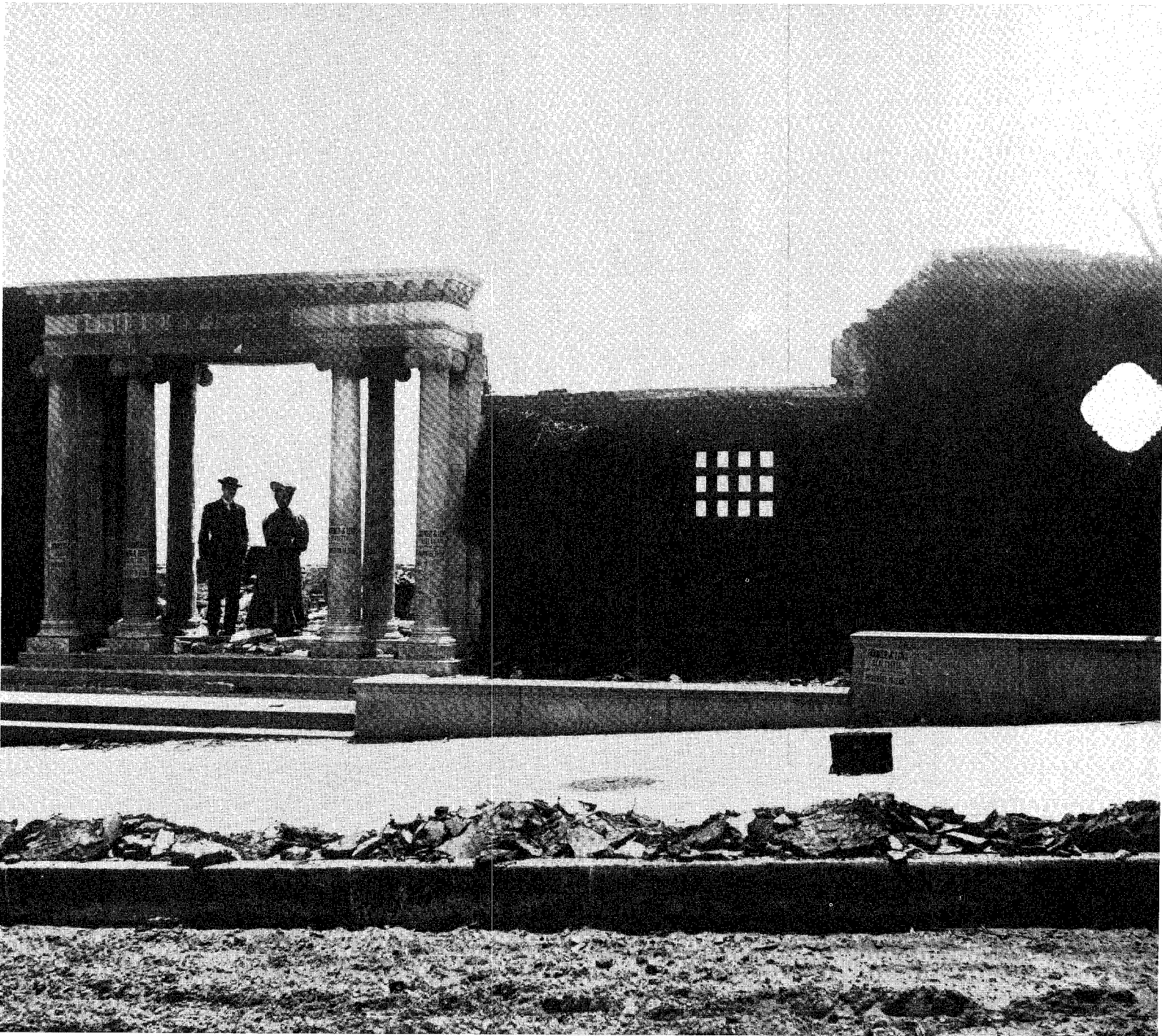
San Francisco has also had its share of major earthquakes. In 1865 there was a quake centered in Santa Cruz or Santa Clara Counties which shook the city and which contemporary geologists believe to have had a force of 6.2 on the Richter. This was followed by another in 1868, now rated at 6.7 on the Richter, which originated in the Hayward fault in the East Bay.² Five people were killed in San Francisco by falling debris; thirty died in Hayward and San Leandro.³ However, when anyone in San Francisco today speaks about THE earthquake, there is little doubt that he or she is referring to the quake of 1906.

This calamity befell San Francisco on April 18, 1906, at approximately 5:13 a.m. and lasted 65-75 seconds.⁴ It is now estimated to have had a force of 8.25 on the Richter — 8.0 being the level at which an earthquake causes severe property damage and loss of life. Fires from gas jets and chimneys broke out in different parts of the city, but because the distributing water mains had burst during the earthquake, the fire department was powerless to

Laverne Mau Dicker is the former CHS Photographs Curator. The author would like to thank Marilyn Ziebarth and Karl Feichtmeir for their assistance in preparing this article.

*"Few have many dollars left to keep the wolf away. I
was going to say from the door but there is no door."*

Letter, Tom to Jessie





"Papa sent you a postal of Howard St. between 17th & 18th Sts. If you remember, one house collapsed; then there is a 2 story white house that is off its foundation and next to that a three-story white house which was all off its foundation and was leaning on the house next to it. Well, that house has been taken down. I think the owner must wish that it had burnt as he would have received some insurance whereas now it is a total loss . . ."

Letter to a Friend, Carrie A. Mangels

Earthquake and Fire

prevent the fire from spreading into one massive blaze. They were thus put into the peculiar position of having 80,000,000 gallons of water stored within the city's reservoirs, but no way of tapping it.⁵

The combination of the earthquake and fire still stands as the largest single disaster in the city's history. The devastated area was six times that of the Great London Fire of 1666: 490 blocks of San Francisco burned, a total of 2831 acres.⁶ Estimates of casualties from the earthquake and fire ranged from 300 to 700 (William Bronson in his book, *The Earth Shook, The Sky Burned*, quoted a casualty rate of 450.) However, it was impossible to agree upon an accurate figure, since there were an indeterminate number who were buried in the rubble of collapsed buildings or who died during the fire. In addition, it was difficult to determine which of the missing were dead and which were alive, as San Francisco's population was scattered into refugee camps throughout the Bay Area. Suffice to say that hundreds lost their lives and thousands more lost their homes and possessions.

Some pious souls claimed that the earthquake was punishment for San Francisco's wickedness, which led a local wag to venture:

If as some say, God spanked the town
For being over frisky,
Why did he burn the churches down
And save Hotaling's Whiskey?⁷

The U.S. Geological Survey, however, described the earthquake in more empirical terms:

The San Francisco earthquake of 1906 had its origin in a rupture associated with mountain-making forces . . . The great majority of ruptures include not only the making of a crack but the relative movement or sliding of the rock masses on the two sides of the crack; that is to say, instead of a mere fracture there is a geologic fault. After a fault has been made its walls slowly become cemented or welded together; but for a long time it remains a plane of weakness, so that subsequent strains are apt to be relieved by renewed slipping on the same plane of rupture . . . The San Francisco earthquake had its origin, wholly or chiefly, in a new slipping on the plane of an old fault.⁸

Photographically, the earthquake and fire of 1906 was one of the best documented disasters of its time. Had the event taken place a mere thirty years earlier, this might not have been the case. Prior to 1888, photography was a skilled trade, requiring a thorough knowledge of photographic apparatus and chemical processes:

Formerly the photographer needed a darkroom and had to be thoroughly acquainted

with the rules of focusing, and the relation of lens apertures to light, spending weeks learning developing, fixing, printing, toning, and mounting, before he could show good results . . . It was considered a heresy to use any preparation that was not made by the photographer himself.⁹

In 1888, with the introduction of the Kodak, George Eastman revolutionized the field and set professional photography on its ear. The Kodak, a hand camera measuring $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and weighing 2 lb. 3 oz., incorporated a continuous roll-film arrangement instead of bulky single plates. It was therefore possible to take 100 photographs, each $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, without reloading. Fairly inexpensive at \$25, the Kodak was also a very uncomplicated piece of machinery. Eastman, in the instruction book, stated: "Today photography has been reduced to a cycle of three simple operations. 1. Pull the String. 2. Turn the Key. 3. Push the Button." He claimed that even a rank amateur could have a success rate of 85% from the very start.¹⁰

Eastman also instituted the first photographic processing service. For a fee of \$10, a photographer could send his camera to Eastman's factory in New York and receive in return 100 mounted prints and his camera reloaded and ready to go. Advertised Eastman, "You push the button, we do the rest."¹¹

In 1895 Eastman was able to offer his buying public an even lighter, cheaper camera, an aluminum model designed by Frank A. Brownell. The "Brownie," measuring only $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ inches and weighing a mere 7 ounces, could take twelve $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ inch photographs, which could then be successfully enlarged. The cost: \$5. Most importantly, the Brownie used daylight-loading roll film. With a few inches of protective black paper or cloth attached to the ends of the film, it was no longer necessary to have the camera reloaded in a darkroom; it could now be done on-the-spot.¹² This was a milestone in the history of photography and marked the rise of amateur photography.

By 1906, then, photography had become cheap enough and simple enough for many families in San Francisco to own and operate a camera. When the tremors of the earthquake had subsided and flames were raging through the downtown district, it seemed the most natural thing in the world to pick up the family camera and record in photographs the destruction of San Francisco.

" . . . We saw no crying women or downcast men. There was an exhilaration in the desperation of the moment."

Charles Page



" . . . Wild rumors were rife. The Cliff House had fallen into the ocean, Chicago was under 7 feet of water, Salt Lake City was prostrate, Kansas City was burning up, Seattle and Portland were both under water, Los Angeles had been shaken by the earthquake and was on fire. There was no communication with the outside world, because railroad tracks had been damaged and the telegraph and telephone wires were all down . . . "

Myrtle Robertson



Telegraph operator, Portsmouth Square

Earthquake and Fire

The California Historical Society has fallen heir to many of these photographs: the Library's earthquake and fire collection includes several thousand views of San Francisco taken on April 18, 1906, and in the days that followed. Professional photographers such as Arnold Genthe and Edward Bear are represented, as are hundreds of amateur photographers. These photographs, which include views of ruined buildings, refugee camps, troops on duty, and the fire in progress, constitute an impressive and dramatic primary source for historical researchers.

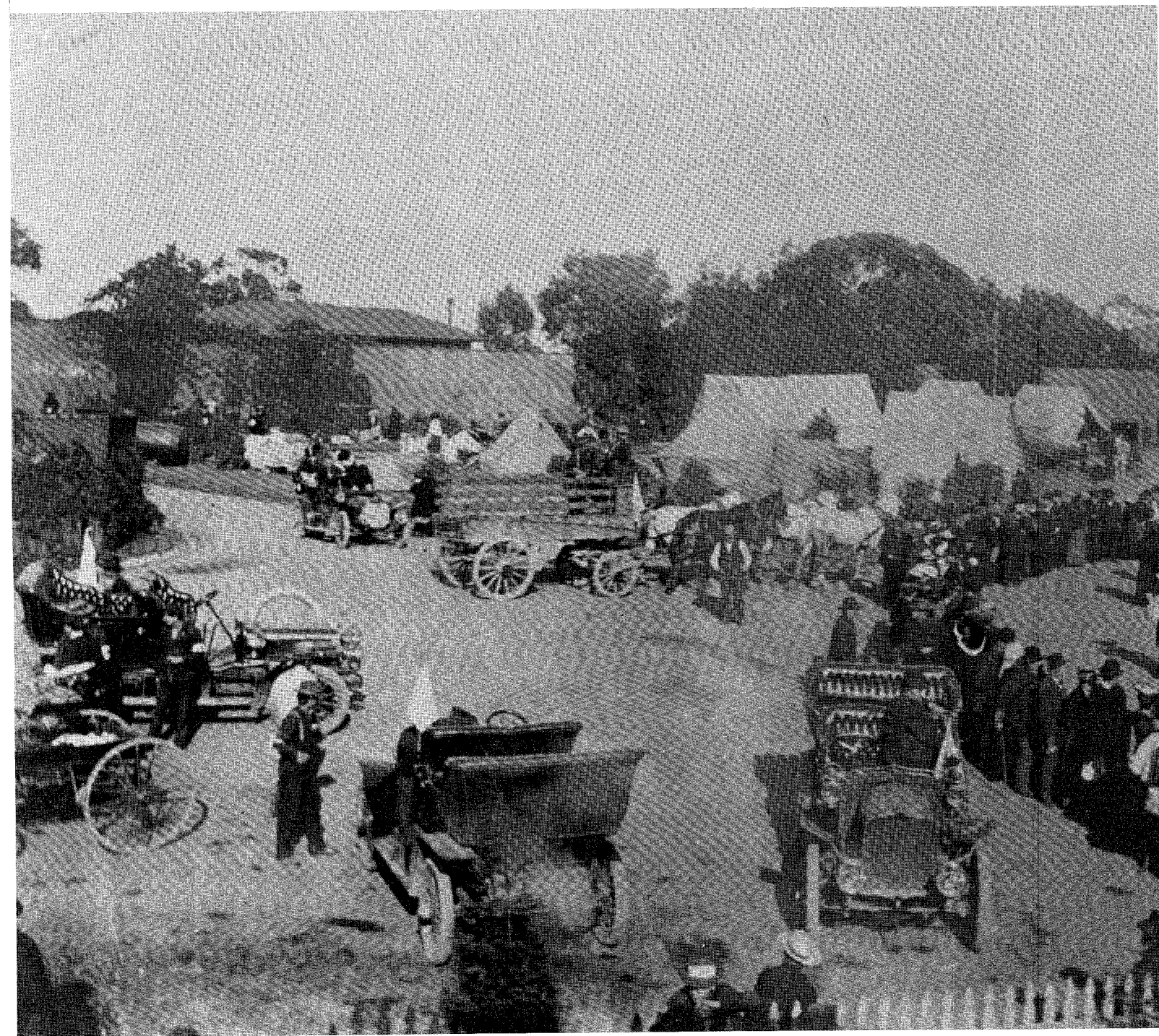
The Manuscript Collection housed in the Society's Library also contains a wealth of primary source documentation relating to the earthquake and fire. Letters, eye witness accounts, reminiscences and various ephemeral material such as food tickets and "Fire passes" comprise this collection. Perhaps the most interesting and historically germane primary source material are the letters. Over one hundred examples of correspondence to or from San Franciscans who experienced the "great shake" offer substantive documentation of the earthquake's effect. Moreover, they express the terror, helplessness and mysterious fascination aroused by those who experienced the event.

In this pictorial essay these two resources have been utilized to document factual events in the period following the disaster and to recreate the feelings and thoughts of the people. All photographs and captions are taken from the photo and manuscript collections of the California Historical Society. Some of these will be familiar to the reader; others are published here for the first time.

Much attention has been given to San Francisco's plight after the earthquake and fire, but it is not generally known that the effects of the quake went far beyond the city limits. Evidence of slippage was found from San Juan (near Hollister) in the south to Point Arena in the north; the damaged area was 180 miles long and 20 to 40 miles wide.¹³ Included here are photographs of some of the towns in these areas (e.g. San Jose, Santa Rosa, and Palo Alto) in order to present a more complete view.

In the course of researching this essay several interesting points emerged. There was a striking uniformity in survivors' descriptions of the tremor. "Shaken" was used in almost every case, in combination with "as a dog shakes a cat," "as a dog shakes a rat," or "as a cat shakes a rat." Only Alice Hutchinson offered a notably unusual animal simile:

I was on a cot and tried hard to stay with it, only a life-long experience at riding horseback and breaking my own horses enabled me to do it . . . I would never try it again, not even if I had a saddle and bridle on it.¹⁴



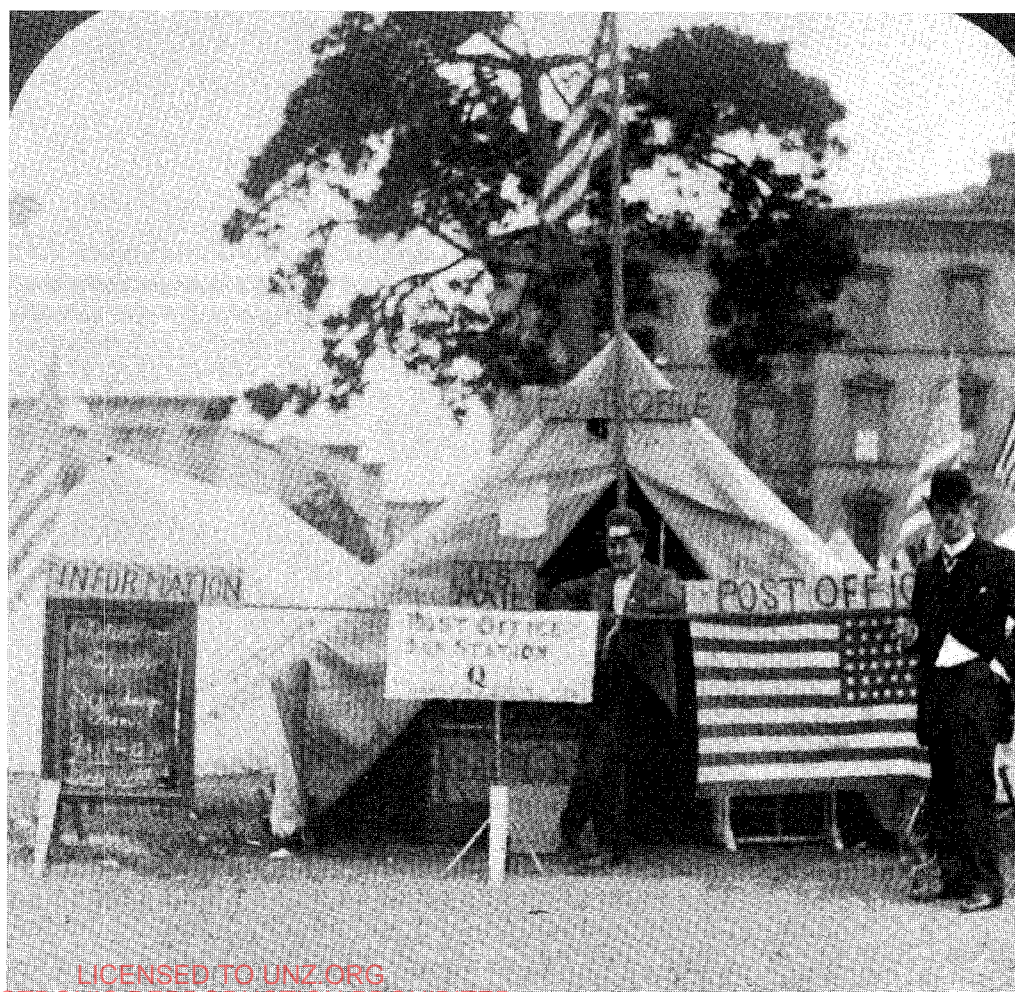
"The services rendered . . . by automobiles will never be forgotten . . . They made ten trips where a horse would make one, and almost every owner of one in town donated the use of it to the stricken city."

W. E. Alexander



"We don't need Postage Stamps over here now. Letters go every place free of charge."

Letter, Catherine to Elise





In addition, similar anecdotes cropped up repeatedly in other manuscripts, usually exhibiting only slight variations on the same theme. Some examples: a shopkeeper, knowing that the fire was approaching, threw his store open for the taking, but those who took advantage of his offer were mistakenly shot as looters; a woman was shot by soldiers for lighting a cooking fire against orders (in another version, the protagonist was a Japanese gardener); scarlet fever and smallpox epidemics were sweeping through the refugee camps; more than 50 (100/150) babies were born in Golden Gate Park the night of April 18th; Los Angeles was on fire, Chicago was underwater, Salt Lake City was devastated. Some of these stories were a natural by-product of San Francisco's isolation during those first few days; rumors and tall tales ran rampant while communications lines were down and contact with the outside world was impossible. Others (e.g. "Ours was the last house on the block to be dynamited"; "No sooner had she climbed out a window to safety than the entire building collapsed") were probably due to the human bent to hyperbole. This, it should be stressed, in no way invalidates the accounts. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., points out, "We all know that interviews can be no better than a person's memory and that little is more treacherous than that." However, he goes on, historians are justified in drawing on such memoirs "when the context of the conversation is plausibly supported by . . . other evidence."¹⁵ In these particular cases there was a surplus of "other evidence."

There was also a difference in attitudes towards women in 1906. Women then, it seems, were seen as frail, nervous creatures who needed extra protection and guidance in times of crisis. One manuscript tells of a large group of coeds at Stanford camping out on the dormitory lawn after the earthquake,

"While on guard in the pan-handle of the Park I saw a crowd of people standing around a Bakery wagon . . . I found that the driver was asking 50 cents for a loaf of bread. Of course, this was outrageous and the poor people could never afford a price like this . . . I leveled my gun at the driver and told the people to line up and get a loaf apiece. Well, Pa, we cleaned that wagon out in a couple of minutes and the crowd thought I was just OK."

Elmer E. Enewold

Class of 1906, in front of the ruins of Polytechnic High School.



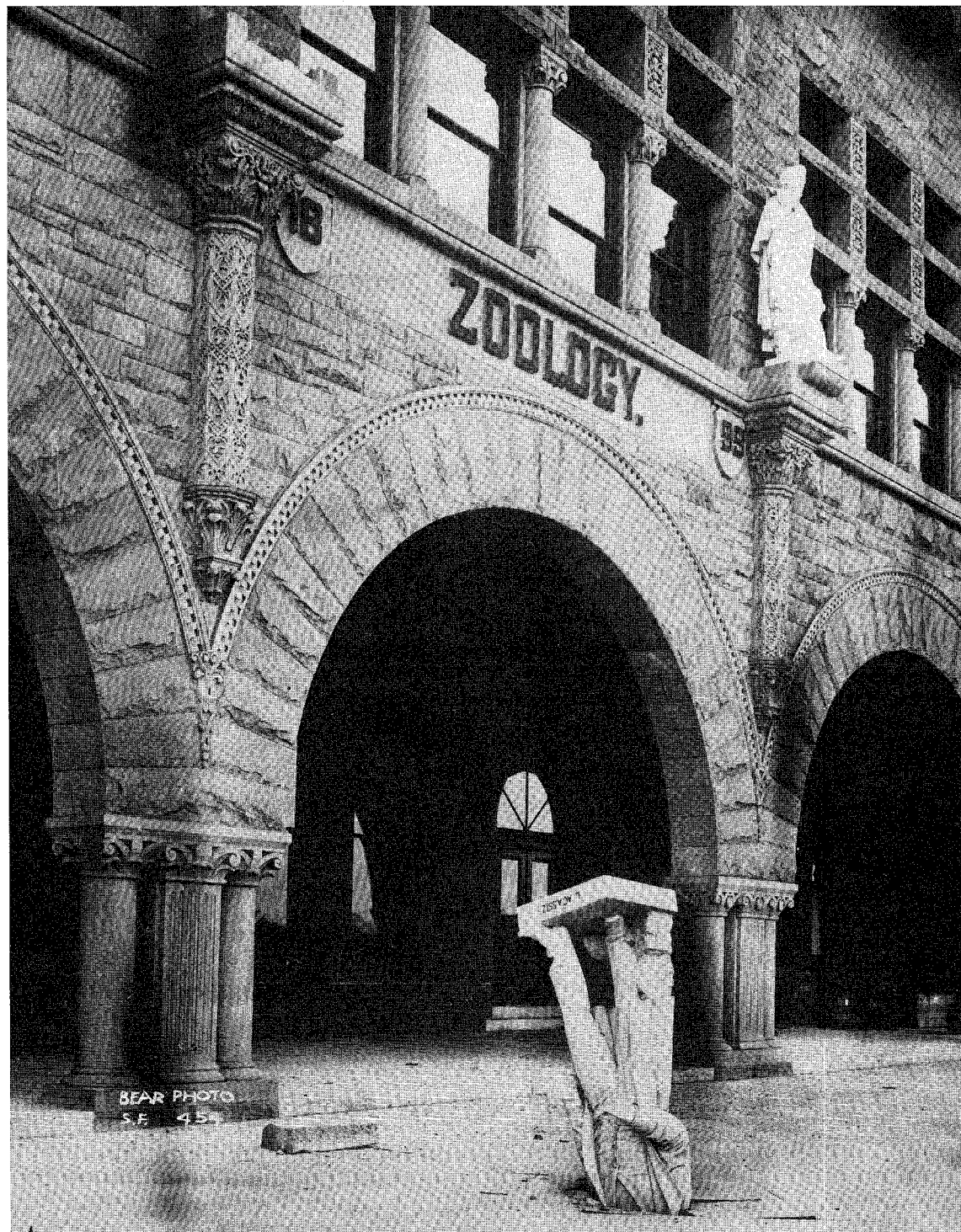


*A refugee tent,
Jefferson Square*

guarded by a university athlete armed with a pistol. (Imagine that being necessary with today's independent college women!) Another manuscript told of a group of nuns being escorted by a lone priest to shelter several miles away; apparently, they were not thought capable of finding their own way. Women who remained calm and acted sensibly were termed "brave," and it was taken for granted that they would be at the breaking point. Yet the accounts written by the women themselves were for the most part quite stoic. Anna Wolfson Samuel, for example, who at 18 was head cashier at the Emporium, walked to work on the morning of April 18th, despite her father's wry observation that "there won't be any work to do." She answered that she felt she must go because perhaps no one else on the staff would be there. No one else was, for Market Street was already ablaze.¹⁶

San Francisco did, as many had predicted, rise like a Phoenix from the ashes, and less than ten years later had recovered sufficiently to play host to an international exposition. Those of us who love the city give thanks that San Francisco still lives. We can only hope that the same determination which carried her people through the dark days of 1906 will see them safely through the future.

Agassiz statue, Stanford University



"At five fifteen on April 18, 1906 the San Andreas Fault shifted and all hell broke loose. From my top berth at the Inn I was roughly thrown to the floor, barely landing on my roommate who, frightened by the commotion, was running for the door. My thought, at the moment, was that this was some kind of an early morning initiation or rough house.

"But I could see that it was something worse than this. The old building continued to shake and groan. Looking out the gable window I saw the new library crush to the ground and soon hidden, all but its steel bird cage tower in a great cloud of mortar and dust. This, then, was really an earthquake and one of proportions. Quickly dressing we ran down the wooden stairs. And wanting to know what had happened we ran along the front facade which seemed to be undamaged and stopped at the great Arch which was badly shattered, on to the Zoology Department where the marble statue of Agassiz had taken a nose dive from the second story and plunged itself up to the shoulders in the concrete walk."

Leo L. Stanley, a Stanford student



Library, Stanford University



"The (library) was a large building with a central dome of structural steel, which in its vibrations knocked down the two three-story wings. Beyond this was the gymnasium, also new and unoccupied, which settled into a mass of ruins. Toward the west, the quad was badly shaken but the buildings did not fall. The church spire, however, was badly wrecked, and this I saw. A large chimney in the engineering group fell, but I do not recall having seen this. The library and gymnasium buildings were too completely wrecked to be restored."

Laurence M. Klauber, a Stanford sophomore

"It was not very long before saboteurs or souvenir hunters began work. A woman was caught getting away with a part of leaded window containing the face of Christ which she had broken out of a fallen Memorial Church window. A student guard, authorized by University authorities, was then placed around the Quadrangle."

Edgar C. Smith



Memorial Chapel, Stanford University



Courthouse at Santa Rosa

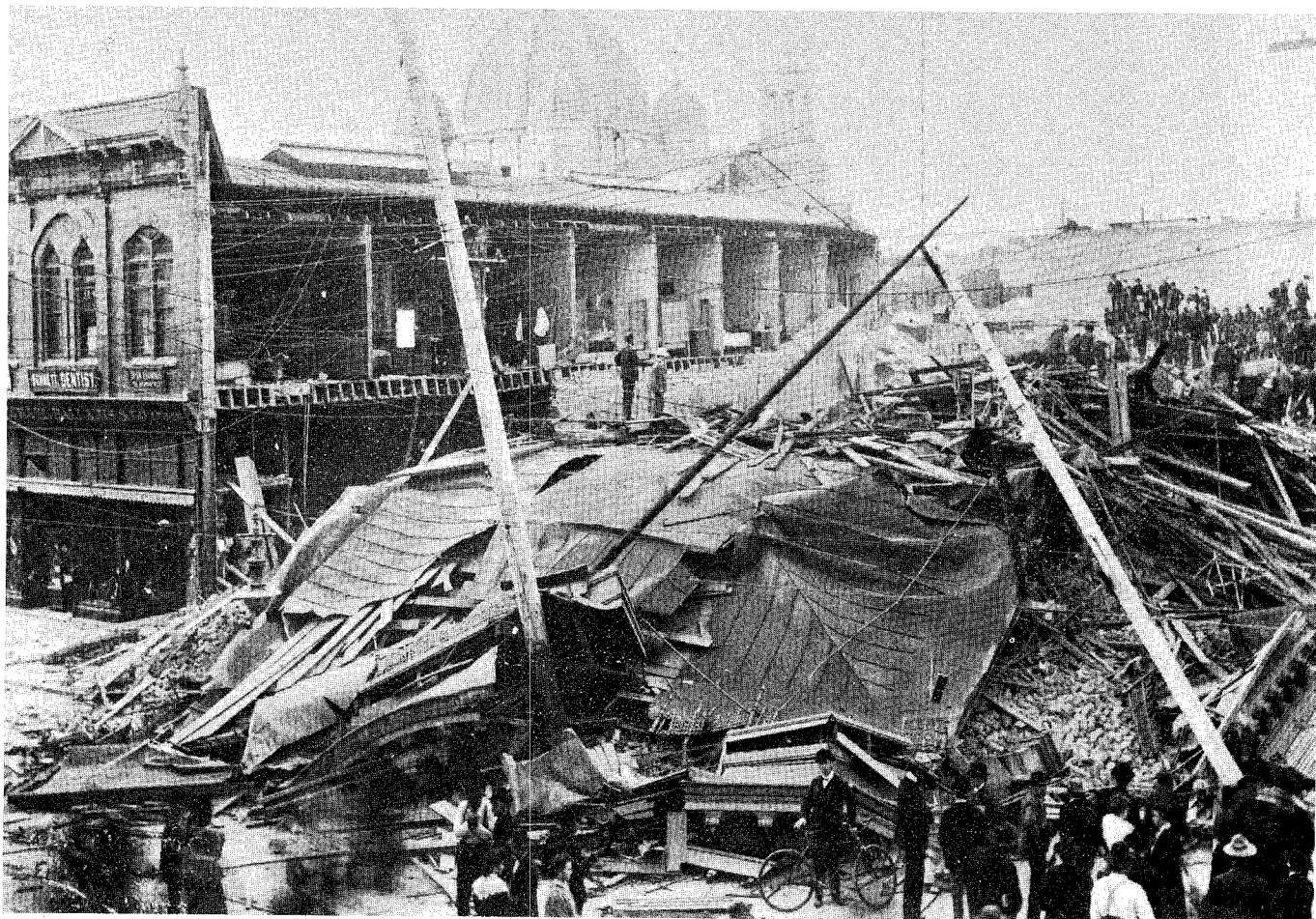


“During the following summer, a Stanford geology class surveyed the fault for 198 miles, from south of Salinas to some place up in Humboldt County. The greatest slippage was found near Santa Rosa, a distance of sixteen feet eight inches, as I remember it. The story was it happened in front of a small house where a man had a lawn in front and a patch of berries to the side. After the quake the berries were in front of the house. The pipe line from the Spring Valley Reservoir to San Francisco was across the fault in two places; one place it was crushed together and the other place pulled apart eight feet. The fault went into the ocean near Colma, south of San Francisco, and came back on land in Bolinas Bay, about thirty miles north of the Golden Gate and continued on north up to beyond Santa Rosa.”

Edgar C. Smith

St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Second Street, San Jose

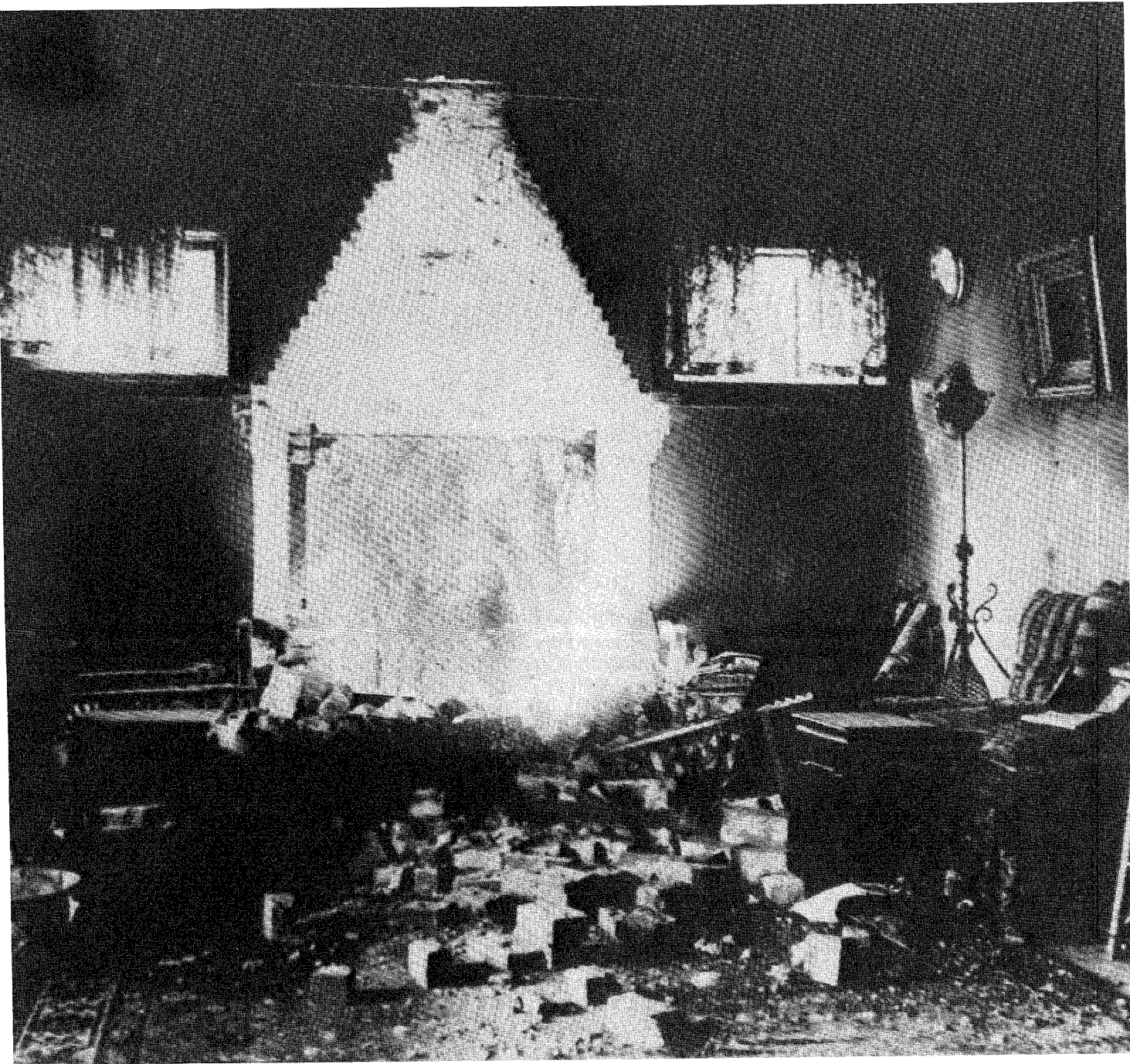




San Fernando Street, San Jose

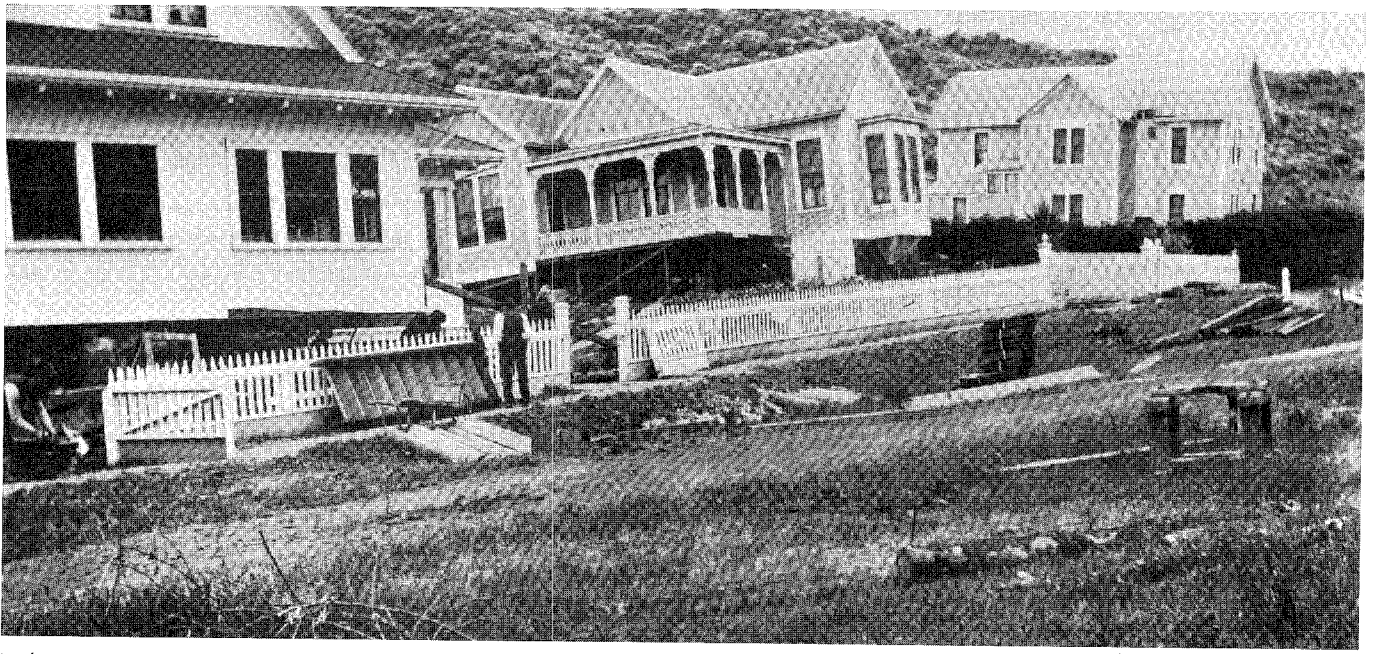


Vendome Hotel, San Jose

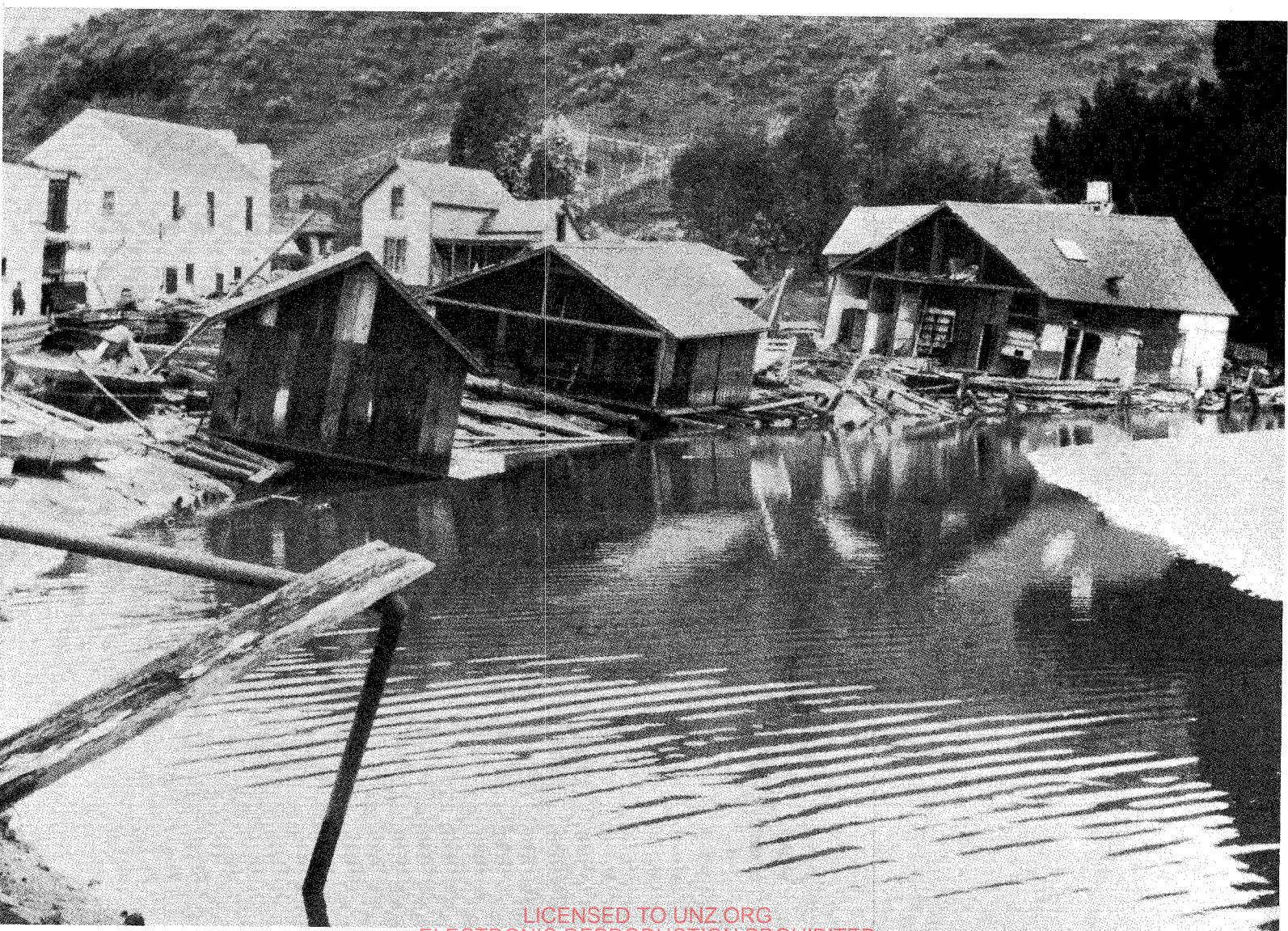


"No one in Sausalito has been injured, fortunately, but most of us are in much the same condition as the chimneys."

Charles M. Woods



Bolinas, Marin



"The only damage to our belongings was a China Cabinet. It held all of my mother's best China, which held the Passover Dishes, used only once a year, for one week only. It fell over, smashed all in it . . . Since my parents kept kosher we had no meat for a very long time. We lived on Bread, Sardines, and other canned fish . . ."





Ruins of Chinatown, Arnold Genthe photograph

"People cooked out of doors for about two months. They took their stoves in the street, built little houses around them. You ought to see how they looked. Almost every one had a name. Aunt Clara's was 'The Beanery,' some were called 'The Palace Hotel,' 'Fairmont Hotel,' 'Camp Appetite,' 'Camp Thankful,' 'Poodle Dog' . . . Some had signs on. One on our block read, 'If you are thirsty, go inside, there are springs in every bed.' As there was very little water to be had, it was a rather good saying. Another read:

*'The cow is in the kitchen,
The cat in the Lake.
The children in the garbage pail
What difference does it make?'*

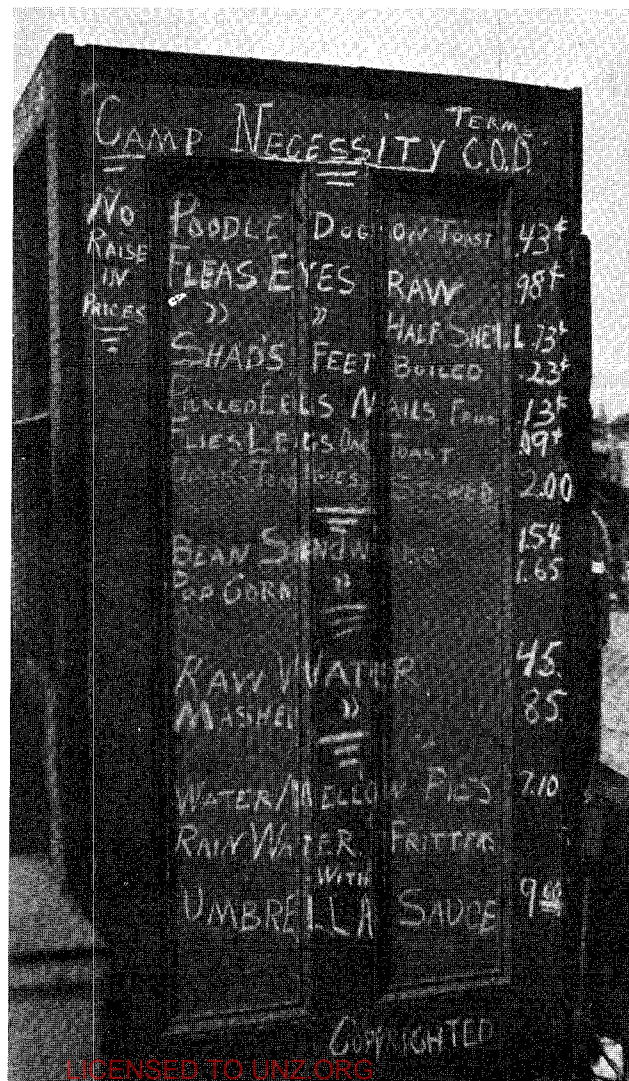
Quite a number had written, 'Meals 25¢ but bring your own grub,' or 'meals at all hours.'"

Letter to Uncle John, Carrie A. Mangels





A refugee kitchen
entitled "Hoffman Cafe"



A mock menu
demonstrating refugee
humor offers "Raw Water"
& "Bean Sandwiches"

Van Ness Avenue at Post



Van Ness Avenue, Geary to Post



"At first the business people moved to Fillmore Street and every store was rented and every available lot was leased and temporary stores put up. But now, Van Ness Avenue is the street . . . Temporary buildings are going up all over. As soon as the debris is cleared away a good many firms will build on their old sites in the downtown section."

Carrie Mangels

"The spirit of the San Franciscans immediately after the earthquake was the most wonderful expression of . . . unbroken courage and confidence in the future that has perhaps ever been shown by any race or set of people under similar circumstances. Populated by such a race there can be no doubt that San Francisco will rise like a Phenix (sic) from its ashes and ruins. As for myself, my love for San Francisco . . . has greatly intensified by my experiences during this calamity, and I hope it will be my good fortune to live there altogether within a few years – and the sooner the better."

Ernest Goerlitz



"Housecleaning Day," San Francisco, 1907

The new San Francisco, 1907



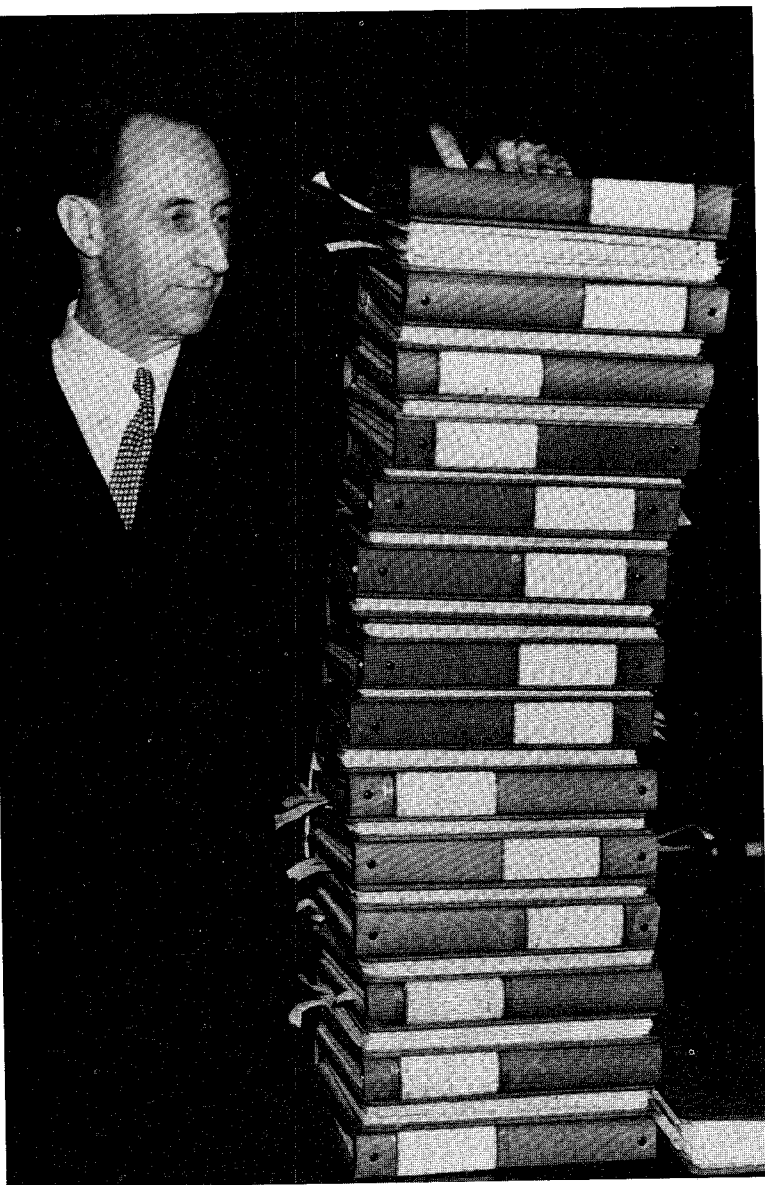
Notes

1. Charles Petit, "California's Staggering Earthquake County," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 7, 1979.
2. "The Earth Quaked . . . Everyone Was Upset," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 7, 1979.
3. William Bronson, *The Earth Shook, the Sky Burned*, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959), p. 19.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
5. U.S. Geological Survey, *The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of April 18, 1906, and Their Effects on Structures and Structural Materials*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 19. This book also contains excellent diagrams and maps, as well as a section of "before and after" photographs of specific structures.
6. Bronson, *The Earth Shook*, p. 83.



7. A.P. Hotelling & Company, a wholesale liquor dealer, was located at 429-437 Jackson Street and was unscathed by the fire.
8. U.S. Geological Survey, *The San Francisco Earthquake*, p. 2.
9. Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography, 1685-1914* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 422.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 414.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 416.
13. U.S. Geological Survey, *The San Francisco Earthquake*, pp. 2-4.
14. California Historical Society Manuscript 3492, Letter to Helen, May 23, 1906.
15. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, (New York: Ballantine, 1978), Foreword.
16. California Historical Society Manuscript 3499, Reminiscences.

Harry Bridges and the Scholars



Attaining citizenship in 1945 did not release Bridges from his legal battles, which lasted into the mid-1950s. Here he measures the voluminous transcripts from the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt trial (1950).

Harry Renton Bridges retired in 1977 amid the accolades of almost everyone associated with the West Coast shipping industry. Unionists, shippers, media people, government officials — all joined in a chorus of praise for the historic longshore leader, who had served as the first and only president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) for the preceding forty years and had led the coast's militant dock workers as they fought for their survival as unionists during the great maritime strikes of 1934 and 1936-1937. The 1930s had been turbulent years for Bridges and the longshoremen: the 1934 strike had, for a few days, swelled into a general protest strike in San Francisco after police killed two waterfront pickets; the 1936 strike had been marked by a bitter propaganda contest. But after a major longshore walkout in 1948, the shippers had finally decided to live with Bridges, and a "new look" had come to the waterfront. In 1960 Bridges negotiated an innovative mechanization and modernization agreement to cooperate with management so that the coast's port facilities might be modernized without continual industrial warfare. With the signing of that contract Bridges was hailed as a great labor statesman.

So the famous longshore leader became an ILWU pensioner in 1977 with the applause of his fellow unionists and former foes alike. In anticipation of his retirement he was treated to a grand testimonial dinner at the Fairmont Hotel in late 1975. Messages of congratulation were conveyed to him from such diverse sources as Leonard Woodcock, President of the

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Looking at History's Verdict

United Auto Workers; the United States Air Force Reserves; Nelson Rockefeller, Republican Vice-President of the United States; the Kerr Steamship Company; the managers of the six Bay Area ports; Frank Fitzsimmons, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; and the Sea-Land container company. Robert J. Pfeiffer, President of the Matson Navigation Company, was among the many who spoke in praise of the retiring unionist.¹ By January 1978 Bridges was in Washington, D.C., at the invitation of officials of the National Portrait Gallery, to discuss with them the possibility that his picture might hang in that place of honor some day.² Bridges regarded these accolades with typical skepticism. Reflecting upon the public acclaim he had received since he left office in mid-1977, Bridges told a reporter that he had "noticed that when the old bastard's retiring, people say 'He's not so bad, after all.'"³

But of course Harry Bridges had not always enjoyed such public acceptance and high esteem. For much of the first thirty-five years of his life he had labored as an unsung sailor and longshoreman in an era when marine workers commanded little respect in polite society. He had been born Alfred Renton Bryant Bridges in a suburb of Melbourne, Australia, on July 28, 1901. As a youth he had rejected his father's real estate business and conservative politics and had instead followed the example of two uncles (especially Harry Renton, variously a sailor, miner, and pearl diver, whose name he eventually adopted) who championed the militant Australian trade union movement and its Labour Party. As a teenager, he had become a seaman, mingling on shipboard with Australian members of the American-born radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and, while at port in Melbourne, witnessing the tumultuous 1917 Australian general strike. Bridges had jumped ship at San Francisco in 1920, found employment in Ameri-

can vessels as a member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, and briefly joined the IWW himself during a strike at New Orleans in 1921. The next year he had returned to San Francisco to settle as a longshoreman.⁴

In pursuing his new career Bridges found the conditions of labor on the City's waterfront to be among the world's worst. During his early years as a longshoreman, he was subjected to the favoritism and kickbacks that characterized the hiring of dock workers from an early morning gathering called "the shape-up." He worked the grueling all-day and all-night shifts at the unrelenting speed that caused an appalling number of waterfront accidents, and was himself twice injured.⁵ "If I had a chance to work I grabbed it," the retired longshore leader recalled recently, "even if it was twenty-four hours. I was hungry as a bastard."⁶ Bridges attempted to avoid the shipowners' "Blue Book," or company union, by moving continually from dock to dock in search of casual employment. Finally he joined in order to gain steady work. He became a member of one of the waterfront's hard-driving "star" gangs and gained a reputation as a stalwart longshoreman. But he never stopped thinking about the need for a rebirth of worker-controlled unionism. He was one of a number of activists who struggled successfully in the early 1930s to revive the defunct International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), the ILWU's predecessor on West Coast docks. Bridges actively participated when the rejuvenated ILA closed all Pacific Coast ports during the long and bloody 1934 strike, which ended with the replacement of the shape-up by a union-controlled hiring hall. In the course of that fateful strike, Bridges — who had a deserved waterfront reputation for honesty and militancy that he would keep throughout his career — emerged as the longshoremen's clear rank-and-file leader, in part for his advocacy of the general strike weapon, which had

been a favorite of IWWs in America and Australia alike before World War I.⁷

Honesty, militancy, leadership, and even fame, of course, hardly brought Harry Bridges the universal public acceptance and high esteem he would enjoy when he retired. Between the mid-1930s and the mid-1950s federal government agencies made numerous attempts to deport the unionist — who had neglected to get his naturalization papers in order before he became famous — as an alien radical. For much of that twenty-year period Bridges was forced to defend himself in hearings and in court.⁸

Conservative agitation to expel Bridges as a member of the Communist Party, USA, began in 1934. His opponents pointed out that deportation was not technically a punishment for crime, but was merely an administrative process for the return of unwelcome aliens to their native countries, and could, at least theoretically, be easily effected. Following an investigation in 1936, though, Immigration and Naturalization Service officials reported that no basis existed for deportation proceedings against the labor leader. Nonetheless, Bridges was soon charged with belonging to an organization which sought to overthrow the government by force. A highly publicized deportation hearing was held on Angel Island near San Francisco in 1939. Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School was retained as trial examiner for the Department of Labor, which then had administrative jurisdiction in matters of immigration. The Supreme Court had recently determined that federal statute necessitated proof of membership in a proscribed organization at the time of arrest as reason for deportation. After eleven weeks of hearings, Landis decided that the evidence failed to show that Bridges had been a Communist Party member when the warrant for his arrest had been issued.

Unfortunately for Bridges, Congress soon enacted

the Alien Registration Act of 1940, known as the Smith Act, making *past* membership in organizations like the Communist Party reason for deportation. The next year he was subjected to another hearing, this time before Judge Charles B. Sears, trial examiner for the Department of Justice, which had recently taken over the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Labor Department. Sears decided that Bridges was subject to deportation, and Attorney General Francis Biddle, who had final say for the Justice Department, agreed. Biddle ordered Bridges deported in 1942, but the complex set of appeals which followed landed the case in the Supreme Court. In 1945, by a vote of five to three, the Court held that Communist Party affiliation had not been proved. Later that year Bridges signed his naturalization papers after attesting that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. But when the McCarthy period dawned, the “everlasting Bridges case,” as it became known, was reopened. In April 1950 the longshore leader was found guilty of having given false testimony during his naturalization proceedings. He and his two witnesses in the oath-of-citizenship ceremonies, J.R. (Bob) Robertson and Henry Schmidt, both ILWU officials, were also convicted of conspiracy to defraud the government.

A few months later, while he awaited legal appeal, Bridges’ bail was revoked when U.S. District Court Judge George Harris, who had presided at the perjury trial, decided that the unionist was a danger to national security since he was critical of American intervention in the Korean war. Bridges was jailed for three weeks during August 1950 before being released under bail by the U.S. Court of Appeals. In 1953 the case reached the Supreme Court, which set aside the convictions of Bridges, Robertson, and Schmidt because their indictment had occurred over three years after the statute of limitations provided



Bridges (left) emerging from the San Francisco county jail after twenty-one days behind bars for criticizing United States entry into the Korean War. The unionist advocated letting the United Nations resolve the dispute through a cease fire and negotiations (1950).

for in such criminal cases. A final effort by the Justice Department to deport Bridges ended in 1955 when Judge Louis E. Goodman dismissed the department's civil action to denaturalize the ILWU President.

During the two decades of the Bridges hearings and trials, every phase of the labor leader's personal and union life was examined repeatedly. But in the end the government's prosecutors, who employed perjured witnesses with shocking regularity, failed to establish Bridges' membership in the Communist Party and were unable to achieve his deportation. Viewing the Bridges case when all of the proceedings were nearly completed, Milton R. Konvitz, an expert on the civil rights of immigrants, observed accurately

that the Bridges trials could be interpreted as "an instance of nineteen years of relentless persecution," and concluded that "it was our administration of justice that was on trial; and the verdict of history will probably be that, taking the case as a whole, as it extended over a period of nineteen years, it was America . . . that lost the case."⁹

From the perspective of time it is clear that Bridges was hounded for years by American government officials and others who clamored for his deportation because, as CIO President Philip Murray insisted pointedly in 1945, the longshore leader "was 'guilty' of the 'crime' of organizing the unorganized."¹⁰ But there was obviously more to it than that. Bridges was



Picket parade on the San Francisco waterfront during the first day of the great West Coast longshore strike, May 9, 1934. Bridges is immediately in front of the closest sign marked "Don't Scab, I.L.A."

not the only aggressive organizer in the 1930s. Yet he was an extraordinarily successful, opinionated, and well-known labor leader from 1934 on, and so, as an alien who was slow to become a naturalized citizen, he presented an inviting target to all opponents of labor on the march, which he symbolized. The specific charge of Communist Party membership came easily because of his tolerance of Communist unionists and his outspoken political views.

The so-called evidence against him was repeated over the years by Bridges' opponents and by many indifferent observers who unquestioningly accepted it. Bridges admitted belonging to the IWW as a youth in the early 1920s, even though he had soon given up his association with that organization because he thought its advocacy of anarchism and its neglect of collective bargaining impractical. He had accepted aid from the Communist-affiliated Marine Workers Industrial Union before and during the 1934 strike, and always insisted afterwards that he would have taken aid from *anyone* in that period of struggle for his union's very survival. He tolerated and even welcomed Communist Party members in the longshore union, frequently observing that they always seemed to make good unionists. He supported numerous unpopular political causes, including Upton Sinclair's losing "End Poverty in California" (EPIC) campaign for the governorship of the Golden State in 1934, the United Labor Party's unsuccessful

left-liberal bid for the San Francisco mayoralty in 1935,¹¹ and Henry A. Wallace's ill-fated anti-Cold War Progressive Party candidacy for the presidency of the United States on the verge of the McCarthy period in 1948. He was never reluctant to elaborate on his belief that there was a class struggle during the Depression: "We as workers have nothing in common with the employers," he told an audience gathered at the University of Washington in the mid-1930s. "We are in a class struggle, and we subscribe to the belief that if the employer is not in business his products will still be necessary and we still will be providing them when there is no employing class. We frankly believe that day is coming."¹²

More important, he openly expressed interest in the Soviet experiment, favored a Western-Soviet alliance against fascism in the latter 1930s, condoned the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and called for U.S. neutrality in the European war during 1939-1941, and then demanded all-out American support for the beleaguered Russians after Hitler's June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union. As Richard L. Neuberger wrote in 1939, to millions of Americans no one so epitomized "labor revolt and extremism" as Harry Bridges. To many he was "the national bogeyman, a symbol within our own country of revolutionary tendencies and dangerous ideas."¹³

Yet in the 1930s, when many historians — still

influenced by Charles Beard's economic interpretation of history — were sympathetic to the new unions, labor scholars seemed resistant to the kind of red-baiting of Bridges found in nonacademic books like Paul Eliel's chronicle of the 1934 strike, which appeared soon after the crisis. Eliel, an employee of the business community's San Francisco Industrial Association, condemned Bridges as a man "who later was proved to have had strong Communistic leanings if not actually Communistic connections."¹⁴ By the end of the decade such lurid popular books as Martin Dies's *The Trojan Horse in America* and Eugene Lyons' *The Red Decade*, which represented Harry Bridges as the Joseph Stalin of American ship-ping, made Eliel seem moderate by comparison.¹⁵ Some of the earliest publications by professional scholars, however, were quite balanced in their treatment of Bridges and his movement. "Whether Bridges is or is not a Communist is extremely difficult to prove," wrote the University of California's Paul S. Taylor and Norman L. Gold in an article printed a few weeks after the 1934 strike. "Certainly neither the marine strike nor the [San Francisco] general strike were basically 'communist strikes.' . . . In 1934 the presence of Communists on the scene . . . [was] seized upon to defeat aggressive, but essentially orthodox unions and unionists."¹⁶ In the spring of 1935 Richard T. La Piere, a Stanford University sociologist, characterized Bridges as a genuine rank-and-file leader, "not in any way a communist," even though he seemed to believe "that under conditions as they now exist, labor and capital are opposed."¹⁷ Edward Levinson, a journalist and CIO writer whose 1938 classic, *Labor on the March*, was seriously regarded by labor scholars, presented a sympathetic and stirring view of the Pacific Coast longshore union's gains under Bridges' leadership.¹⁸ Finally, late in the decade Philip Taft commented on the longshore leader in a pioneering study of the

problems facing the nation's new CIO unions. The famous labor scholar was cautious in assessing the recent rift in Pacific Coast maritime union solidarity. "The chief complaint of the West Coast sailors," Taft reported guardedly, "seems to be that Harry Bridges was too close to the Communists."¹⁹

After the Second World War, however, scholarly opinion began to shift against Bridges. The consensus generation of writers, influenced by the Cold War preoccupations of the larger society, were by and large hostile to those who openly admired the Soviet Union or who were identified with the left. Inside the labor movement itself the beginning of the American postwar anti-Communist crusade was heralded by late 1946. At the CIO's national convention President Philip Murray — who had defended Bridges a few months before for patriotic contributions to the war effort and had pledged that "the CIO will continue its aggressive campaign in the defense of Mr. Bridges"²⁰ — introduced a resolution disavowing communist union control. Bridges' war-time support of labor's no-strike pledge, which the Communist Party had also favored, became an issue, as did his support of the 1948 Henry Wallace campaign, which the CIO officially opposed. During that same election year Murray fired Bridges as CIO Regional Director for Northern California, and in 1950 the CIO purged its leading left-wing unions, including Bridges' ILWU, to demonstrate its opposition to Communism.

In the scholarly world a similar hostility was displayed early, with the publication in 1947 of James O Neal and Professor G. A. Werner's *American Communism*, which referred to the "activities of many Communist Party members to capture the [Los Angeles] C.I.O. unions with the support of Bridges," who was characterized as a "faithful follower of the 'party line.'"²¹ One of the most heated attacks upon Bridges came from the labor analyst

Sidney Lens, whose 1949 book, *Left, Right and Center*, commanded much attention. Lens called Bridges a "Stalinist follower from way back" and, in criticizing the no-strike pledge, charged that such Stalinists had been "ready to give up any and all of labor's hard won rights to defend the Russian bureaucracy."²²

The identification of Bridges with Stalinism was assumed by most labor scholars in the 1950s and early 1960s. Like the popular writer Sam Stavidsky, whose "Communist Penetration of the CIO" appeared in 1950, academics like Max M. Kampelman²³ came to rely heavily upon coincidence and insinuation to establish the longshore leader's association with the Communist Party. Many scholars focused exclusively upon the issue of Bridges' political affiliation. Jane Cassels Record, for example, devoted several pages of her 1954 dissertation to establishing that "the parallelism of Bridges' policies with those of the Communist Party over time is persuasive,"²⁴ and went on to argue that Bridges' whole world view was Stalinist. Among those who came to assume that Bridges followed the party line were some of the leading scholars of the day, including Daniel Bell, Wytze Gorter, George H. Hildebrand, Irving Howe, Lewis Coser, Bernard Karsh, Philips L. Garman, David A. Shannon, David J. Saposs, Walter Galenson, and Nathan Glazer.²⁵ A few authors, like Joseph P. Goldberg, who merely wrote that Bridges was "influenced by the tactics and philosophy of the Communist Party,"²⁶ were cautious in their approach, but others, like Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who characterized Bridges as a man "without scruples" who "rarely deviated from the Communist line,"²⁷ were not.

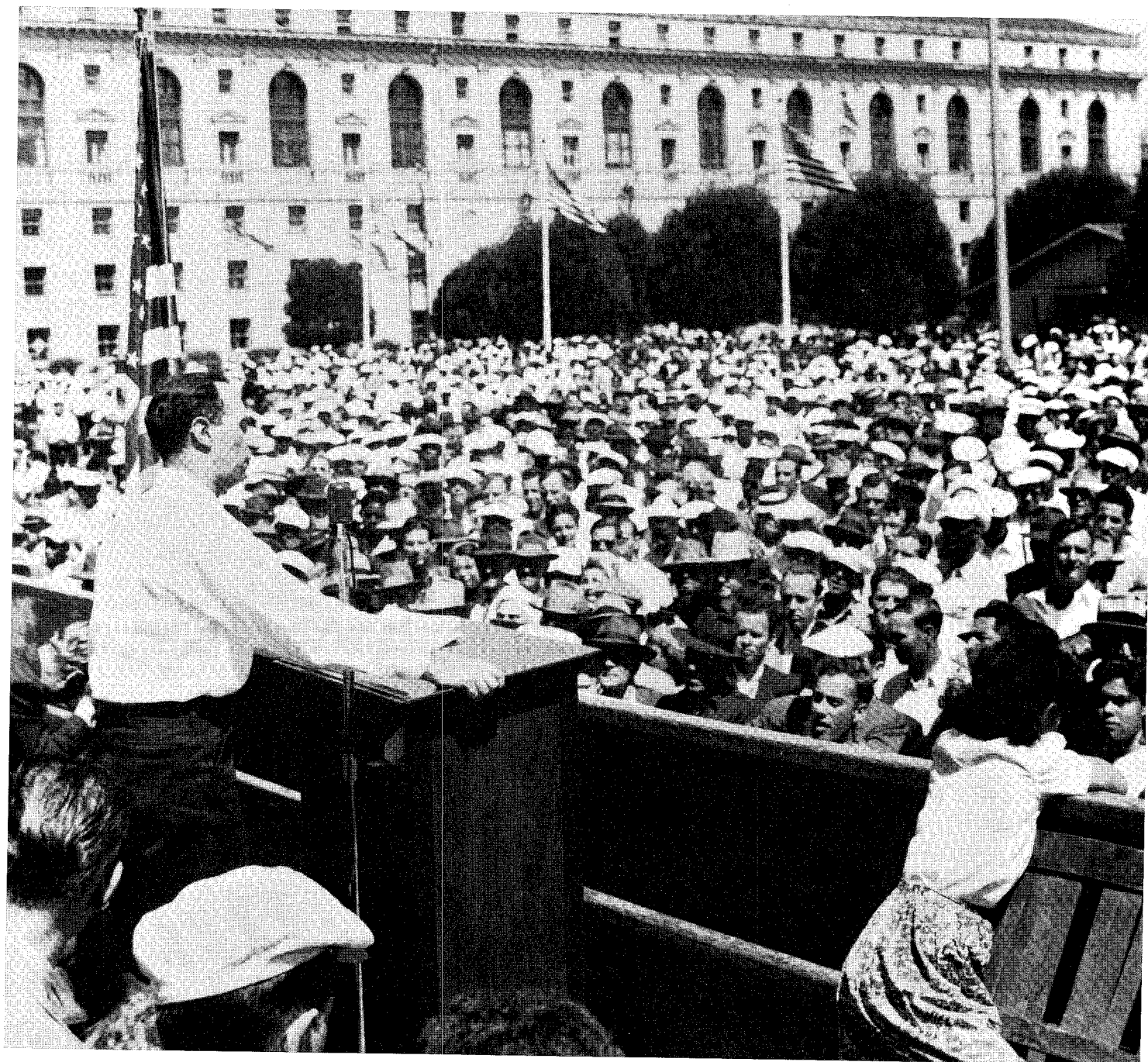
In the mid-1960s, with the bitterness of the McCarthy period abating, scholars began to modify their view of Bridges. Philip Taft, for example, wrote in 1964 that although "Bridges followed the

line of the Communist Party," the longshore leader had "never neglected his trade union work; his members have the best conditions of any longshoremen in the world." Taft also depicted Bridges as "one of the more able unionists of the last three decades."²⁸ Two books by the well-known labor writer Paul Jacobs clearly reflected the extent of changing attitudes toward Bridges. In 1963 Jacobs, an ex-Trotskyist, described his role in helping to prepare the CIO's brief recommending the 1950 expulsion of the longshore union. "I must admit," Jacobs wrote, "much as I hate to provide Bridges with ammunition to prove the assertions he made at the time, that there was very little due process in the trial."²⁹ Two years later Jacobs revealed that long after the CIO purge he had become "obsessed with Harry Bridges, as if a constant war were going on inside me, one side still reacting to the way I thought he'd followed the twists and turns in the Communist line, and the other side filled with guilt for the way in which I had helped push him out of the CIO."³⁰ Fifteen years after America's anti-Communist crusade, then, even one of Bridges' old enemies was ready to concede that the longshore leader had been treated unfairly in the 1950s.

Perhaps a similar sense of guilt for the unfair treatment Bridges had received at the hands of the government and of historians accounts for the moderation in recent scholarly assessments. In *Turbulent Years*, a major history of the 1930s published in 1970, Irving Bernstein presented a carefully balanced account of Bridges' early career, even if he concluded that the unionist "worked with Communists, he hired them, he sought the help of the Communist Party and its instrumentalities, and he often, though by no means always, adopted their ideas and followed their line."³¹ Charles P. Larrowe, in his 1972 biography of Bridges, described at length the many government efforts to deport the longshore leader. In

Harry Bridges

Bridges addressing union men during the 1947 San Francisco Labor Day Parade ceremonies.



so doing, he was very careful, as he had been in his earlier works in the field, to avoid emotionally charged anti-Communist statements.³² In his provocative book on the American Communist Party's problems during 1943-1957, also published in 1972, Joseph R. Starobin, an ex-Communist turned political science professor, acknowledged Bridges' independence. Bridges, Starobin wrote, "was never a Communist." If the longshore leader "enjoyed intimate ties with the Party" it was "usually on his own terms."³³ Reviewing the CIO purge of the ILWU in

a recent dissertation, James R. Prickett convincingly emphasized the "serious shortcomings of the CIO's case."³⁴ Interestingly, though, Bert Cochran, a union activist become academic, seemed to echo earlier scholars in his 1977 study of labor and communism. He stressed that "sociologically" Bridges "was an ally of the Communists, conferred with Communist leaders, adhered to Communist policy, and helped build up the Communist faction inside his union."³⁵

In 1979, two years after Bridges' retirement and a quarter of a century after his last deportation trial, a



Bridges, Henry Schmidt, and J. R. (Bob) Robertson at the end of their conspiracy trial (1953).

full, objective assessment of the man's career is both possible and necessary. What has characterized previous scholarly treatments of Bridges, both intemperate and restrained, is an excessive focus on the issue of his relationship with the Communist Party and the government's case against him, whereas what we need to understand is his place in and contribution to the American labor movement.

In assessing his union leadership, we do not really need to establish whether Bridges was a member of the Communist Party at some time in his life. (For the record, in January 1978 Bridges still insisted, as he had for decades, that "ninety-five percent of the evidence against me was absolutely true. But one thing I didn't do, I didn't happen to be affiliated with the Communist Party."³⁶) Regardless of his political affiliations, throughout his long career the welfare of his union was always Bridges' primary concern, and his willingness to accommodate to life with the ship-owners to further the union's cause was evident from the 1930s on. He admitted long ago that collective bargaining was "class collaboration," but he became expert at it soon after the 1934 strike. Discussing the mechanization and modernization agreement of 1960, and his acceptance of wage guarantees and retirement benefits in exchange for the elimination of longshore jobs by the containerization of cargo handling, Bridges confided recently that "in classical Marxist terms . . . it could be called a sellout. There's no class struggle in it. . . . It did lead to certain strains with the Communist Party. In typical ideological terms, of course, they're right. But the union is a bit more practical."³⁷ This sort of practicality, and not ideology, characterized Bridges' career as a unionist from the start.

It is possible to argue that, far from being an ideologue or a revolutionist, Bridges was in some respects a rather traditional trade unionist. At the end of the 1930s he explained that he had rejected the

IWW during his early years in part because its "philosophy was never to sign an agreement . . . never to arbitrate; never to mediate; never to consolidate"³⁸ in traditional trade union style. In 1940 he was critical of efforts the Communists had made to organize the waterfront in 1932, since the Party, he argued, had offered complex revolutionary theory when bread-and-butter trade unionism was what was needed. "The men," Bridges said, "weren't afraid to fight for things that were right before their eyes, such as an extra ten or fifteen cents an hour. But they didn't understand these other things." Instead of joining the Party's Marine Workers Industrial Union, he had followed his own unchanging strategy, which was "to organize into unions as a class party, not a revolutionary party, and to improve the conditions of these men without changing the nature of the government."³⁹ At the same point late in the Depression he also outlined the current class struggle as he saw it: it was "not a question of whether you believe it or not, it is a question of facts that are before you," he insisted; and then he added, "The only thing I see to do about it right now is to organize the trade unions and we will head off a little bit of it."⁴⁰ Bridges' basic answer to the social ills of the day — to unionize the workers — was a legal solution, and if it did "head off a little bit" of the class struggle, it might even be viewed as a conservative solution.

If he was unique in the American labor movement, his uniqueness lay in his effort to achieve labor unity on the widest possible scale. He aimed, for example, to organize all of the marine trades into a Maritime Federation of the Pacific, which he helped found in 1935. Though interunion conflict doomed this federation within a few years, Irving Bernstein, for one, saw what Bridges had hoped for. "As one looks back upon those turbulent years between 1934 and 1938," he wrote, "it is evident that only one man had the

vision of unity — Bridges. His aspiration, at the outset for the West Coast in the ill-fated Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and ultimately for all coasts, was to unify the offshore and longshore crafts into a powerful industrial union.”⁴¹ Later Bridges continued to search for the widest possible basis of cooperation among transportation unions, but never with the success he sought. His support of a Committee for Maritime Unity shortly after World War II was challenged as a Communist ploy. In recent years, when he investigated the possibilities of uniting his union either with the East Coast International Longshoremen’s Association or with the Teamsters, he was criticized within his own union for proposing alliances with corrupt organizations. Despite failures and criticism, however, Bridges was always conscious of the potential power of a united industry-wide movement.

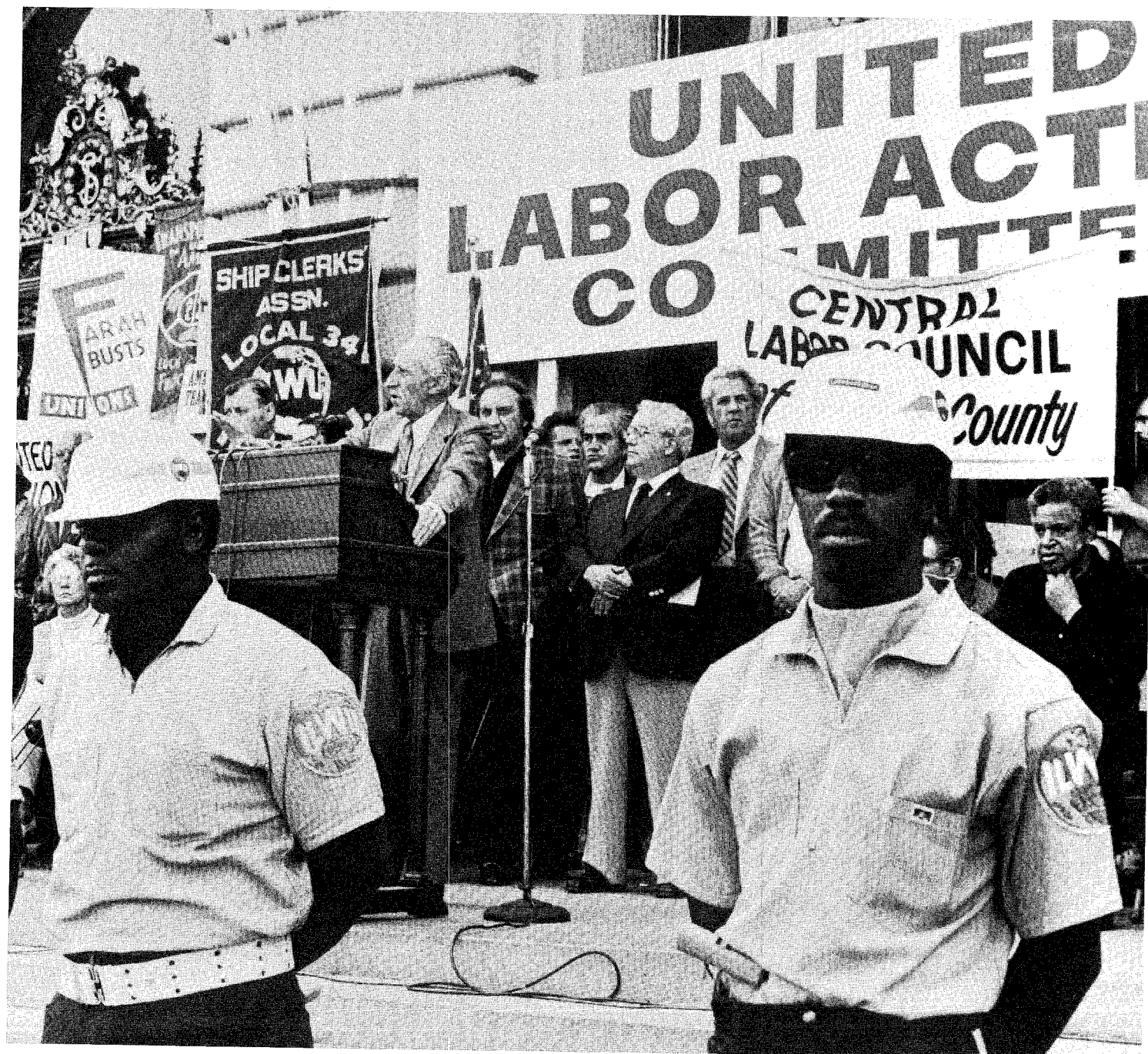
But his vision of labor unity went beyond that of John L. Lewis and traditional trade unionism in America. He saw the struggle of labor as international and ultimately political, and this global vision is the key to Bridges’ controversial and outspoken stands on American foreign policy. His shifting stance toward world affairs in the late 1930s, for example, his opposition to the Cold War, the Marshall Plan, and to American involvement in Korea and later in Vietnam, were expressions of the same world view that led him in 1950 to accept the uncovered position as Honorary President of the maritime unit of the Soviet-sponsored World Federation of Trade Unions. We do not need to look to the American Communist Party to find the sources of his internationalism: it most likely began with his impressions of the militant Australian labor movement and with the influence of his uncle Harry Renton, whom he recalled recently as “a strong pro-labor, pro-socialist person;” it no doubt was confirmed by his six years as a shipboard worker among seamen of all

nations; it found in the Australian and American IWW a compatible vision of a better world for workers everywhere. Interestingly, while native-born leaders of labor in America and in California often thought mainly of the movement in local, regional, or national terms, in 1979, as throughout his career, Bridges still emphasized that strong American unions had “a responsibility for the welfare of workers in other countries.”⁴²

If parallels existed between Bridges’ political views and the party line of the American Communists, historians miss the point even if they describe the unionist as a “fellow traveller.” In fact, the party appears to have been *Bridges’* fellow traveller, since, like John L. Lewis, Bridges used its resources — he encouraged the support of the party’s newspaper in 1934, for example, when all other media facilities were against the maritime strikers — during the early organizing days. Party writers have insisted that Communist aid was crucial to the early success of the longshore union,⁴³ and there may be some truth to the claim. But while Bridges accepted Communist assistance in the mid-1930s, he never relinquished control of union policy to the party. When he felt that the ILWU’s interests differed from the party’s, he unhesitatingly pursued the union’s cause, as in negotiating the mechanization and modernization agreement. Although he was never afraid to take a position which resembled the party’s when he agreed with that position, to the end of his active career he remained an independent leftist whose trade union philosophy was distinguished by practicality and internationalism.

The photograph on page 70 is courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. All other photographs are courtesy of the *ILWU Dispatcher*.

Bridges, as outspoken and undaunted as ever, addressing a Labor Action Committee demonstration against "Nixonomics," San Francisco, April 28, 1973. Standing to the right of Bridges, with clasped hands, is James Herman, who succeeded Bridges as ILWU President in 1977. Members of the ILWU Drill Team are in the foreground.



Notes

1. Harry Bridges, the Man: Testimonial Dinner (San Francisco: Brougham Enterprises, November 29, 1975), pp. 1, 7, 15, 16, 21, 24, 28.
2. *New York Times*, January 18, 1978.
3. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 2, 1978.
4. Irving Bernstein, *Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker, 1933-1941* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), pp. 252-253; Charles P. Larrowe, *Harry Bridges: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States* (New York: Lawrence Hill, 1972), pp. 3-8; Bruce Minton and John Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1937), pp. 172-177; Theodore Dreiser, "The Story of Harry Bridges," Part 1, *Friday Magazine*, October 4, 1940, pp. 1-3. For background on Australia's militant labor tradition around World War I, see Ian Turner, *Industrial Labour and Politics: The Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia, 1900-1921* (Canberra, Australia: Australian National University, 1965), and Ian Bedford, "The One Big Union, 1918-1923," in *Initiative and Organization*, by Ian Bedford and Ross Curnow (Melbourne, Australia: F. W. Cheshire, 1963), pp. 5-43.
5. Bernstein, *Turbulent Years*, pp. 253-255; Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*, pp. 8-10; Minton and Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor*, pp. 177-180; Dreiser, "Harry Bridges," p. 5.
6. Harry Bridges, conversation with the author, Fifth Annual Southwest Labor Studies Conference, California State University, Dominguez Hills, Carson, California, April 20, 1979.
7. Bernstein, *Turbulent Years*, pp. 256-261; Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*, pp. 10-29; Minton and Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor*, pp. 180-202; Dreiser, "Harry Bridges," pp. 5-7; Turner, *Industrial Labour*, pp. 62, 150, 159.
8. The following summary of the Bridges hearings and trials is largely dependent upon Milton R. Konvitz, *Civil Rights in Immigration* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1953), pp. 114-122. Also helpful among the extensive writings on the Bridges deportation proceedings were the accounts in Estolvy E. Ward, *Harry Bridges on Trial* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1940); International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, *The Everlasting Bridges Case* (San Francisco: ILWU, 1955); Vincent Hallinan, *A Lion in Court* (New York: Putnam, 1963); International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, *The ILWU Story: Three Decades of Militant Unionism*, 2nd ed., rev. (San Francisco: ILWU, 1963); Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*; and Dorene Askin, "Historical Report, Angel Island Immigration Station," State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, Interpretive Planning Unit, Sacramento, June 3, 1977.
9. Konvitz, *Civil Rights in Immigration*, pp. 120-121.
10. Philip Murray, *The Harry Bridges Case: A Foreword to the Famous Dissenting Opinion of Judge William Healy and Judge Garrecht of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth District* (San Francisco: Harry Bridges Victory Committee, 1945), p. 1.
11. [James McCauley Landis], *In the Matter of Harry Renton Bridges: Findings and Conclusions of the Trial Examiner* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 124-126, 130-131; U.S., Department of Justice, *Harry Bridges before the Attorney General in Deportation Proceedings* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 13-17; *Waterfront Worker* (San Francisco), August 12, 1935, and September 23, 1935; Richard A. Liebes, "Longshore Labor Relations on the Pacific Coast, 1934-1942" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1942), pp. 59-61; Harvey Schwartz, "The March Inland: The Warehouse Organizing Drive of the Pacific Coast Longshore Union, 1934-1938" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1975), p. 53, and *The March Inland: Origins of the ILWU Warehouse Division 1934-1938* (Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1978), p. 34.
12. Richard L. Neuberger, *Our Promised Land* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), p. 217, and "Bad Man Bridges," *Forum*, April 1939, p. 195.
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14. Paul Eliel, *The Waterfront and General Strikes, San Francisco, 1934* (San Francisco: Hooper, 1934), p. 28.
15. Martin Dies, *The Trojan Horse in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1940), pp. 176-195; Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade: The Stalinist Penetration of America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941), pp. 219-234.
16. Paul S. Taylor and Norman Leon Gold, "San Francisco and the General Strike," *Survey Graphic*, September 1934, p. 411. See also Paul S. Taylor, "The San Francisco General Strike," *Pacific Affairs* 7 (September 1934): 271-278.
17. Richard T. La Piere, "The General Strike in San Francisco: A Study of the Revolutionary Pattern," *Sociology and Social Research* 19 (March-April 1935): 361.
18. Edward Levinson, *Labor on the March* (New York: University Books, 1938), pp. 261-264.
19. Philip Taft, "Some Problems of the New Unionism in the United States," *American Economic Review* 29 (June 1939): 321. See also Taft, "Strife in the Maritime Industry," *Political Science Quarterly* 54 (June 1939): 223.
20. Murray, *Harry Bridges Case*, p. 5.
21. James Oneal and G. A. Werner, *American Communism: A Critical Analysis of its Origins, Development and Programs* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1947), pp. 232, 312.

22. Sidney Lens, *Left, Right and Center: Conflicting Forces in American Labor* (Hinsdale, Illinois: Henry Regnery, 1949), pp. 344-345.
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24. Jane Cassels Record, "Ideologies and Trade Union Leadership: The Case of Harry Bridges and Harry Lundeberg" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1954), p. 23.
25. Daniel Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 145; Wytze Gorter and George H. Hildebrand, *The Pacific Coast Maritime Shipping Industry, 1930-1948*, Vol. II: *An Analysis of Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), pp. 271-276; Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957), pp. 370-371; Bernard Karsh and Philips L. Garman, "The Impact of the Political Left," in *Labor and the New Deal*, ed. by Milton Delber and Edwin Young (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), pp. 98-99; David A. Shannon, *The Decline of American Communism: A History of the Communist Party of the United States since 1945* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), p. 104; David J. Saposs, *Communism in American Unions* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), pp. 131-133; Walter Galenson, *The CIO Challenge to the AFL: A History of the American Labor Movement, 1935-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 431, 445; Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961), pp. 108-111, 126-127.
26. Joseph P. Goldberg, *The Maritime Story: A Study in Labor-Management Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 146.
27. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, Vol II: *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), p. 390.
28. Philip Taft, *Organized Labor in American History* (New York, Harper and Row, 1964), p. 442. Taft's assessment of Bridges changed little in the four years between 1964 and the publication of his book on the California State Federation of Labor in 1968. See Taft, *Labor Politics American Style: The California State Federation of Labor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 99, 102.
29. Paul Jacobs, *The State of the Unions* (New York: Atheneum, 1963), p. 9.
30. Paul Jacobs, *Is Curly Jewish? A Political Self-Portrait Illuminating Three Turbulent Decades of Social Revolt, 1935-1965* (New York: Atheneum, 1965), p. 229.
31. Bernstein, *Turbulent Years*, p. 259. See also Bernstein, pp. 251-259.
32. Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*. See also Larrowe, *Shape-Up and Hiring Hall: A Comparison of Hiring Methods and Labor Relations on the New York and Seattle Waterfronts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), "The Great Maritime Strike of '34: Part 1," *Labor History* 11 (Fall 1970): 403-451, and "The Great Maritime Strike of '34: Part 2," *Labor History* 11 (Winter 1971): 3-37.
33. Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 258n.
34. James Robert Prickett, "Communists and the Communist Issue in the American Labor Movement, 1920-1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 406-407.
35. Bert Cochran, *Labor and Communism: The Conflict That Shaped American Unions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 89. One recent "anti-Stalinist" discussion of Bridges and the ILWU reads like the Trotskyist literature of the 1940s. See Andrew Bonthius, "Origins of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union," *Southern California Quarterly* 59 (Winter 1977): 379-426.
36. *New York Times*, January 18, 1978.
37. *New York Times*, January 18, 1978. For provocative, recent, and critical assessments of the mechanization and modernization agreement by a union loyalist, see Herb Mills, "The San Francisco Waterfront: The Social Consequence of Industrial Modernization, Part Two: 'The Modern Longshore Operations,'" *Urban Life* 6 (April 1977): 3-32, and *The San Francisco Waterfront: Labor/Management Relations - On the Ships and Docks, Part Two: Modern Longshore Operations* (Berkeley: Institute for the Study of Social Change, University of California, 1978).
38. Landis, *In the Matter of Harry Renton Bridges*, p. 123.
39. Drieser, "Harry Bridges," p. 7.
40. Landis, *In the Matter of Harry Renton Bridges*, p. 128.
41. Bernstein, *Turbulent Years*, p. 589.
42. Harry Bridges, "Recollections from the Labor Movement," keynote speech, Fifth Annual Southwest Labor Studies Conference, California State University, Dominguez Hills, Carson, California, April 20, 1979.
43. William F. Dunne, *The Great San Francisco Maritime General Strike* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, October 1934), pp. 8-9; William Schneiderman, *The Pacific Coast Maritime Strike* (San Francisco: Western Workers Publishers, March 1937), pp. 22, 30; Herb Tank, *Communists on the Waterfront* (New York: New Century Publishers May 1946), pp. 35, 67; Mike Quin, *The Big Strike* (Olema, California: Olema Publishing, 1949), pp. 39-40, 46; William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1952), p. 301.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Books for Budding History Buffs

The best way to introduce children to the story of California is to take them to sites where our history has been preserved. Dry facts become real events when a child can examine a reconstructed Indian temescal, wander among boxes and barrels of goods in the old Monterey Customs House, or roam the streets of Bodie. However, it is not always easy for parents or schools to travel about the state to historic places. Children must turn to books to provide their knowledge of California.

The years between the third and sixth grades are an excellent time to encourage youngsters to begin what may turn into a life-long study. They read well alone, their natural curiosity has yet to become blunted, and they all love a rousing good story.

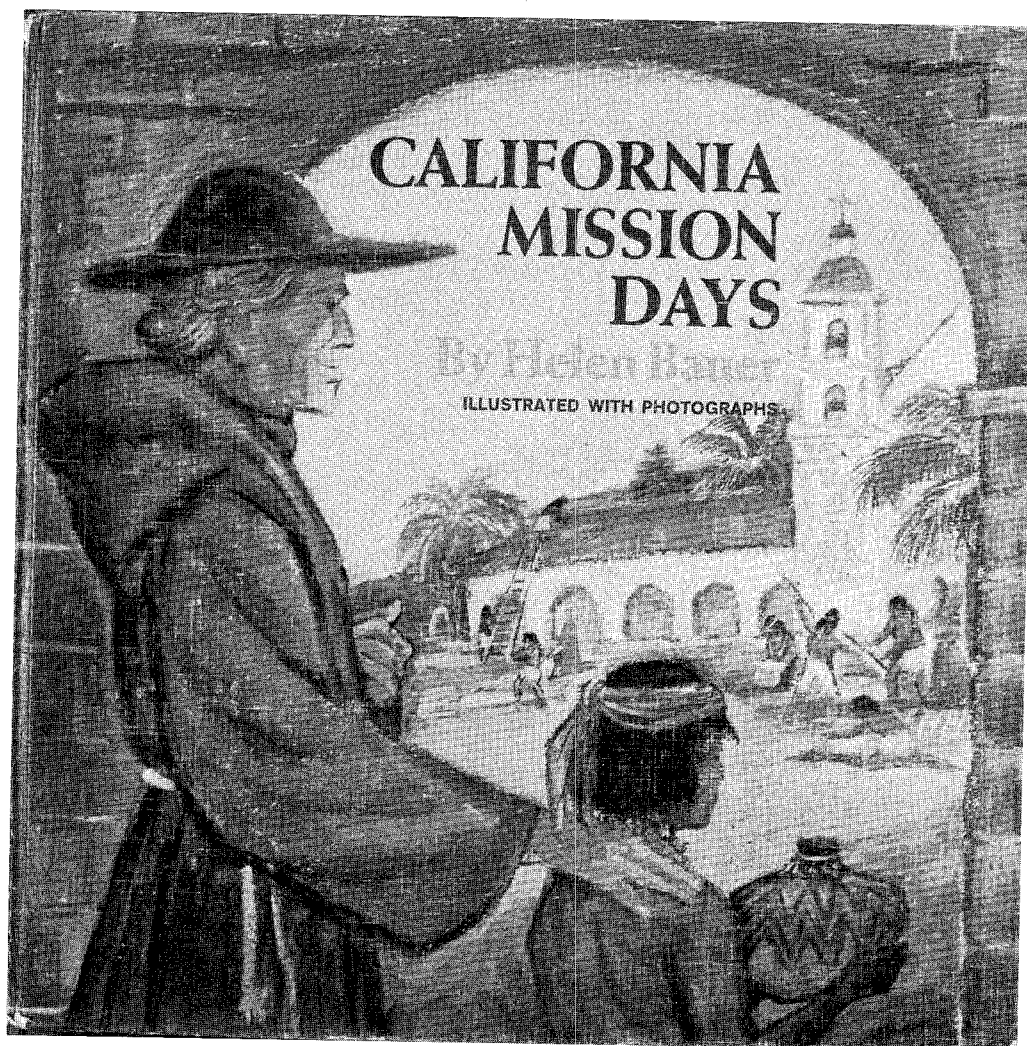
Unfortunately, most of the readily available books for this level were written without any in-depth study of the life of California Indians and the harmony they achieved with nature. Similarly, the problems and contributions of Mexicans, Californios, Asians, Chicanos and Blacks have been ignored, or their experiences are portrayed in tired, stereotyped ways.

However, all is not lost. Until we are able to inspire new efforts to meet modern needs for better children's books on California we can use some of the good older works and select from others those facts and stories which will add to the knowledge of today's children.

Following below is a survey of a variety of the most useful non-fiction books which are easily obtainable for elementary school students. These works are generally included in the collections of both school and public city libraries, and are located near one another in the library section on California.

There is an appalling lack of general histories writ-

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California Mission Days, by Helen Bauer is a child's history of the mission system and the clergy who instituted it.

ten specifically for the younger student. One of the few is, fortunately, an excellent book. *California Pageant*, (1955) by Robert Cleland is a scholarly work suitable for the advanced fifth grader or those in the sixth grade. It provides background material which is most important for the beginning history student. It covers such topics as reform, labor, agriculture, anti-Asian prejudice, etc. All are examined thoroughly enough to give the reader a good understanding of events and attitudes through the years. This would be an excellent book to keep on hand for reference use.

To take a look at the life of the first inhabitants of California we can begin with Helen Bauer's *Indians of California*, (1963). This is an easy-to-read book which will give the younger reader some idea of how the Indians lived before contact with the white man. It is illustrated with photographs which show customs

and practices that help a child to appreciate cultures which existed for thousands of years without significant interruption.

For a closer study of a particular group of Indians there is a fine book on regional Indian life, Malcolm Margolin's *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area*, (1978). This book can be read alone by older elementary students and can also be used successfully with younger children under adult supervision. Selected passages can be read aloud and interpreted while the marvelous Michael Harney drawings aid discussion of the rich, full life of the Indians.

Of course, *Ishi in Two Worlds*, (1961) by Theodora Kroeber is still a must for the fifth or sixth grade reader. The version for younger children, *Ishi, Man of His Tribe*, is not as useful nor does it give as much insight into the reality of life for Ishi, both before and

after his surrender to the new world he was forced to accept to survive. It would be a shame for any youngster to miss reading *Ishi in Two Worlds* because he or she has read the lesser work first.

Also for the older reader is John Terrell's *The Discovery of California*, (1970). This is a good study of the Spanish exploration. It follows the voyages made north from Mexico during the years 1538-1603, and gives added background to the Spanish interest in California. It is not for the casual reader, nor the very young.

There is a need for a good children's book examining the functions and influence of the mission system and the clergy who instituted it. There is little written for children on the impact that the missions had upon the Indians and their culture. Often mission books are merely travel books of limited use. Of these, the new edition of the Sunset book, *The California Missions*, (1979) and Helen Bauer's *California Mission Days*, (1951) are probably the best.

Nor is there a good non-fiction account which deals with the life of the native born Californios, those who gave their loyalty to California rather than to Mexico. Californios are usually lumped together with the Spanish presence and lose their separate identity. Their way of life and the devastating effect on it of the Gold Rush and the succeeding population booms is rarely presented to children. This is only one example of the absence of good studies on many of the groups of people who were important to the development of California.

The era of the Gold Rush has evoked much more interest on the part of authors, and most literary collections are liberally endowed with books on California during this time of excitement, change and growth. Two of these seem to be on every shelf. Both are generally well written, profusely illustrated and fun to use. *The Golden Book of California*, (1961) by Irwin Shapiro ignores almost any mention of

pre-Spanish history, but is quite useful in conjunction with other works. It is easily read by the third grader and is fun to study at leisure. The many colorful illustrations and maps scattered throughout round out the narrative with visual interest.

The American Heritage Junior Library's *The California Gold Rush*, (1961) is the other volume found everywhere. It has a matter of fact approach which seems especially pleasing to today's youngsters. The drama of California history comes from the events themselves, not from elaborate prose. The editors have used quotes from diaries and accounts of the time which lend an air of immediacy and give insights as to how the argonauts viewed their quest and their fellow miners. This is also one of the few books which admits that there were women in the gold fields. There is a chapter devoted to Louise Clappe's letters home, "The Dame Shirley Letters of 1851-52." This adventurous woman adds a feminine point of view of life in the northern mines. There is some small coverage of the Chinese experiences at the hands of the miners.

For those particularly interested in the gold era, Paul Wellman's *Gold in California*, (1958) gives a succinct history of gold as a prize through the ages, explains various techniques used to extract ore and retells anecdotes current at the time. Lorence Bjorklund's drawings capture the look of the land, the people, the tools and equipment of the Gold Rush.

The Fools of '49: The California Gold Rush 1848-56, (1976) by Lawrence Seidman is another excellent book that gives much more than dry historical facts. Seidman covers the Gold Rush using original letters, diaries, songs, papers, speeches, etc. with background comment interspersed. This work will appeal mostly to the older child. It provides good information on Indians, the Californios, the Chinese, as well as gold related events.

There are many more fictional works which tell the story of the pioneer families who came to stay in California, but one book that is widely used in schools tells a true story. *To California by Covered Wagon*, (1954) by George Stewart is based on a manuscript by Moses Shallenberger written in 1885. He wrote of his trip west some 40 years earlier. Stewart retells the adventures of the boy and the party's travels. However, it is written in a style which is somewhat dated today, but popular in the 1950s. Many children like the story, but not the book. At any rate, there is much accurate information that can be garnered about life on the long journey from Missouri in the 1840s.

On the other hand, Margaret Sutton's *Palace Wagon Family: a True Story of the Donner Party*, (1957) is usually well received by young readers. As she tells her story Sutton never loses the child's viewpoint. She captures Virginia Reed's lightheartedness at the beginning of the journey, her boredom as the days dragged on, the mounting tension and fear as even the children realize their desperate situation, and the change in those who survived. All in all, an excellent way for a sensitive child to better understand the rigors and hardships of the trips west.

After the excitement of the Gold Rush years and the sufferings of the pioneers, there seems to have been little to interest writers of California history for children. One must turn to biographies and fiction to find out what happened later. Both are marvelous sources of information about the people who lived through times which are far enough in the past for today's child to view them as history.

Children should be encouraged to look for books on California in the libraries they have near at hand. There are many specialized books on particular subjects which may well be a catalyst leading to a serious study of California's story. To be sure, it is often difficult to find that one book that has the answer to a

burning question, or one that gives the full story of any one particular event, but if there is a need, and children persist, they will be rewarded by opening their minds to the fascinating history of their state. It may even be that someone who is a child today will finally write that special book loved by all future California children.

The photograph on page 81 is courtesy of Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York and the San Diego Public Library Children's Room.

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Book Reviews

The Education of Carey McWilliams.

By Carey McWilliams. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979. 363 pp. \$11.95.)

Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Professor of History, University of Southern California.

Although born in Steamboat, Colorado, where he was raised on a cattle ranch, Carey McWilliams is no stranger to California. On the death of his father, his mother moved to Los Angeles. At the age of sixteen, he joined her in 1921. Soon after, he landed a job in the business office of the Los Angeles *Times*. His meager wages made it possible for him to matriculate in college a year later. In the ensuing five years, his education, formal and informal, was shaped by liberal arts and law degrees from USC; more importantly, an immersion in the writings of Ambrose Bierce and H. L. Mencken. The latter proved an overriding influence on his subsequent career. Attraction to journalism and serious writing, first nurtured by student editorials in the *Daily Trojan* and editing the college literary magazine, began with a 1925 piece on Bierce for *The Argonaut* (a San Francisco weekly) and immediate encouragement from Mencken. That beginning spawned a biography on Bierce and laid the foundation for an eventual decision to become a journalist/writer.

The saga of that career forms the heart of this political memoir, a quasi-autobiography similar in vein to those written by Henry Adams and Lincoln Steffens. It warrants comparison for it, too, deserves the appellation, "a classic." Like its counterparts, this is a personal history recorded from a decided vantage point; in this case that of an avowed socialist, "an unreconstructed, unapologetic radical," who has concentrated on issues, sought agreement on them and their objective as a matter of prime consideration.

McWilliams divides his memoir into two books. Book I spans the thirty years, 1921-1951, which can rightly be called "The California Years." A graphic portrait of Bohemian Los Angeles in the "Roaring Twenties" gives way to the sobering harsh world of the 1930s which transformed a young rebel into a radical. His attention subsequently was captured by society's ills and injustices. In a succession of articles and books McWilliams took up the causes of migratory workers, land exploitation, minority rights, racial prejudice, anti-semitism, and the plight of

Hispanic-Americans. Not content with writing on such subjects, he was an active participant in efforts to correct abuses and right injustices. Fascinating and informative insights abound in respect to the tragic Oakies and migratory labor; McWilliams' four years as head of the Division of Immigration and Housing under Governor Culbert L. Olson; Hollywood labor graft and corruption; Japanese "relocation," the Sleepy Lagoon case and Zoot Suit Riots during World War II, to highlight the more significant.

Book II, devoted to the years 1945-1975, are "*The Nation Years*." The focus shifts to the national arena of political events and issues. Named contributing editor for the West Coast in January 1945, McWilliams became immersed in "the thirty years of Cold War that began in 1945 and finally phased out in the spring of 1975," with the end of the Vietnam War. That galvanizing concern increased with his appointment as *The Nation's* editor and relocation to New York in 1951. His perception of those thirty years is compact and revealing; two-thirds of the narrative is devoted to them. Like a beacon his firm commitment to democratic principles, human dignity, unswerving truth illuminates the pages. His apt characterizations and blunt evaluations of the immediate past will inform, infuriate, deflate, and delight. One can disagree with some of his conclusions and positions, but still admire his courage and forthright candor. Make no mistake: this is a book for our time. One puts it down with admiration for a dedicated American, a man of conscience and purpose.

Now retired, he has returned to Los Angeles and is currently teaching a course at UCLA.

The Stanislaus River Drainage Basin and the New Melones Dam: Historical Evolution of Water Use Priorities.

By W. Turrentine Jackson and Stephen D. Mikesell. (Davis: University of California, California Water Resources Center, 1979. v, 184 pp. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by Lawrence B. Lee, Professor of History at San Jose State University, and author of two books and many articles on public lands and reclamation history in California and the West.

Observers of current California environmental politics will be attracted to this work. They have followed the spring,

1979 exploits of Mark Dubois and friends in a "sacrificial" dedication to saving the nine mile white rapids section of the Stanislaus River above Parrott's Ferry. This volume, one of several excellent monographs funded by the Water Resources Center at Davis, offers a valuable historical perspective for understanding the complex issues involved in the New Melones question, i.e., whether the dam's reservoir, built by the Army Corps of Engineers and now operated by the Bureau of Reclamation, should be filled to its authorized multi-purpose capacity. The single most enduring impression obtained from the book is that large scale water projects are a thing of the past in California. The former relatively simple benefit-cost formula for project authorization, which could be manipulated by the dam building federal "establishment" with comparative ease, has been refined in consequence of the National Environmental Protection Act (1969) and related federal and state laws. Now, project designs become vulnerable to involved environmental impact statement hearings and court tests *ad infinitum*.

The authors' thesis is that federal and state environmental agencies rather than private associations such as the Sierra Club, Environmental Defense Fund, and Friends of the River, "blew the whistle" on full implementation of the New Melones multi-purpose operation. The fatal flaw was that the Bureau of Reclamation could not justify the designed conservation capacity at the reservoir for irrigation and other consumptive uses once the C.V.P.'s East Side division had been scratched. The consciousness raising campaign evoked by rafting enthusiasts illustrated by the E.D.F. lawsuit of 1972 and the Save the River ballot proposition election of 1974 was significant only in a delaying and diversionary sense. On center stage was the state-federal jurisdictional struggle for control of water rights. The celebrated Supreme Court decision, *California v. U.S.* of October, 1978 upheld the state's Water Resources Control Board's authority to control storage capacity at New Melones within limits. Still in limbo for ultimate decision is the survival of the "wild rivers" concept on the Stanislaus versus unlimited agricultural and economic development fostered by C.V.P. water.

Students of public resource policy will delight in the authors' use of the case study approach to depict the evolution of water policy. All the theoretical concept models (single and multiple purpose projects, basin wide planning, phased development and decision making by layers of private, local, state and national bodies) have their actual his-

torical counterparts in the Stanislaus River Drainage Basin history. The authors' text, sources, numerous maps and tables, and excellent illustrations add clarity and validity to a necessarily complex chapter in public works history.

Called to the Pacific: A History of the Christian Brothers of the San Francisco District, 1868-1944.

By Ronald Eugene Isetti, F.S.C. (Moraga; St. Mary's College of California, 1979. 432 pp. \$12.95.)

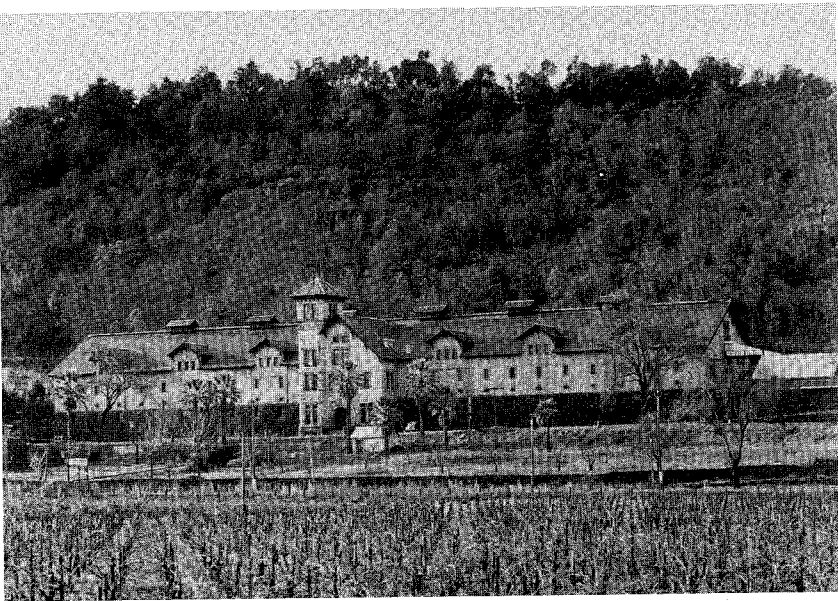
Reviewed by John B. McGlain, S.J., Department of History, University of San Francisco.

Those who peruse dustjackets before reading a book at hand are frequently made aware that the many good things promised the reader are sometimes not delivered at all in the pages to follow. It is a real pleasure to compliment the author of the volume under inspection here which is the first of a trilogy planned by Brother Ronald. The dust-jackets claims are fulfilled in the pages of this book.

A complete account of the excellent educational work done by the Christian Brothers in their San Francisco District has long been needed. Once again, we must praise the first of the three volumes. The Brothers are indeed fortunate in having Brother Ronald at hand to research and write on the history of their religious congregation.

This reviewer was impressed by the thoughtful introduction in which the author fully explains what he was determined to accomplish. I think that it will cause many readers to continue in their perusal of the pages to come. I rather imagine that those who read this book will be favorably impressed by the integrity and frankness of the author. He correctly observes that too many treatments have been of the "in house" variety where the author records only the good which he has found and which inevitably causes critical comments by the readers. Brother Ronald is to be congratulated for bringing to life a well rounded narrative which "tells it like it really was."

As indicated, the readers of this volume cannot fail to notice the professional competency which is evident throughout Brother Ronald's volume. True to the words of the introduction the author gives us a needed and detailed account of his subject. He treats well and frankly



The Christian Brothers winery at Napa is world renowned. Funds derived here are used to support the Brothers' educational work.

some key controversial issues and these are presented against a satisfying background which focuses on relevant broad historical dimensions. Brother Ronald has made use of the extensive materials in various archives, notably the Roman and other collections of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Much space is devoted to a detailed account of the Latin Question — the moot views of those in and out of the Congregation as to whether the Brothers should be allowed to teach the ancient classics, not done in the Brothers' European schools. It would seem that the principal group opposed to the teaching of Latin was composed of the Jesuits and we are here given a frank narrative as to how and why this was so. This reviewer can find nothing to criticize in this part of Brother Ronald's story. (It may be allowed here to mention that, on page 403, note 4, this reviewer is given a light rap on his knuckles for not devoting sufficient treatment to the relationships of Archbishop Alemany and the Christian Brothers in his life of Alemany, which was published in 1966. He must plead guilty to the charge and will try to do better in the future!) Returning to the Latin Question, hopefully may we surmise that the acrimonies born of it have now yielded to better days.

The various locations of Saint Mary's College are well treated here from the first enterprise in San Francisco in the 1860s and its removal to Oakland and, finally, to the Moraga years which started in 1928. It would seem that the author has something for every one interested in the complete history of the Brothers in the San Francisco district. This is presented in detailed accounts of the renowned Christian Brothers winery and in the equally detailed narrative revolving around the Slip Madigan years of daytime football. For any who do not remember these years, Brother Ronald's narrative will prove enlightening, as will what he tells us about many other facets of the story of his earlier confreres who contributed much light (and, occasional heat) to the story.

It is a distinct pleasure, then, to recommend this superior volume. It is evident that the Christian Brothers have found the right member of their group to record their past. It will be good to await the next two volumes in the trilogy of which this book forms a part.

San Francisco's Wilderness Next Door.

By John Hart (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1979. 176 pp. \$9.95.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenburg, Reviews Editor of this magazine.

In 1969 Walter Hickel, Richard Nixon's much-maligned Secretary of the Interior, called for "Parks to the People — where the people are." What he meant was that the National Park system should modify its traditional emphasis on isolated natural wonders and develop more parks in and around America's great metropolitan regions. Three years later, a fortuitous combination of citizen activism, political expediency and plain good luck produced one of the first of the new metropolitan parks, the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA).

Along with the older Point Reyes National Seashore, Marin County's extensive watershed lands and existing state and city parks, GGNRA created 130,000 acres of largely undeveloped open space, stretching from the San Francisco waterfront sixty miles north to Point Reyes. This dramatic piece of parkland, located minutes from downtown San Francisco, is John Hart's "wilderness next door."

Hart's work is part-guidebook, part-picture book, illus-

trated largely with excellent black-and-white photographs by Robert Sena, and partly an intelligent essay on the problems and potentialities of the "Parks to the People" concept. Most important for our purposes, the book also is a fine history of the preservation of a magnificent stretch of California landscape.

Hart's history begins in the nineteenth century with the building of military fortifications on both sides of the Golden Gate. He covers William Kent's heroic efforts to preserve Mount Tamalpais and the post-World War II fight to save Point Reyes from development. Also included are the controversies over Marinello, a proposed "new town" in Marin County and the future of Alcatraz. Finally, Hart discusses the strange combination of idealism and opportunism that produced the political clout necessary to get GGNRA through the Nixon administration and Congress.

Hart is an eloquent conservationist, but his message is never shrill or self-righteous. His book is of particular interest to residents of the Bay Area, but it includes lessons applicable to any metropolitan region. Certainly southern Californians interested in the future of the new Santa Monica Mountains National Recreational Area would do well to consult *Wilderness Next Door*.

The book also contains a valuable lesson for conservation historians: there is a lot of good history waiting to be written about the battles to preserve open space in and around America's great cities. Like the National Park Service, historians of the conservation movement should pay more attention to "where the people are."

Our Home Forever: A Hupa Tribal History.

By Byron Nelson, Jr. (Hupa, California: Hupa Tribe, 1978. 224 pp. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by Malcolm Margolin, a writer living in Berkeley, whose most recent book is The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area.

The Hupa numbered about 1,000 people at the time of the California gold rush. They lived in cedar-planked houses along the lower course of the Trinity River, an area rich in

salmon and acorns. The introductory chapter of *Our Home Forever* powerfully evokes the old way of life: the women garbed in tassels and fringes, their hair perfumed beneath basket caps; a famous hunter dressed in a cougarskin robe with long tails that trailed behind him as he walked; people picking the path clean so that travelers would not stumble; a man obliged to ferry an enemy across the river lest his refusal add to a quarrel and result in a more expensive settlement. The Hupa traded with the Yurok for redwood canoes, and they hired the Chilula, Chimariko, and other neighbors to serve as soldiers in their wars. Since time immemorial this was how life had been lived. Then in 1850 "strangers" poured into their land.

Our Home Forever is the story, told by the Hupa themselves, of how they struggled against and survived the flood of "strangers." The author is a member of the tribal council and a local educator. Over two dozen other Hupa tribe members gave information, criticism, or verification. The National Endowment for the Humanities underwrote the research, the American West Center of the University of Utah provided technical assistance. The Hupa Tribe published the book with funds borrowed from its own credit union.

The result of this effort is, in a word, outstanding. The writing style is simple, honest, even graceful; the scholarship is exhaustive. Ethnologies, histories, old newspapers, theses, unpublished material from the National Archives in Washington and the Federal Research Center at San Bruno, plus files and tapes from the Hupa Oral History Program were mined for information. The book is heavily footnoted and has a critical bibliography, several appendices, nearly a dozen maps, and almost forty rare photographs by Curtis, Goddard, Kroeber, and others.

The book is also outstanding for its clarity of focus. All history is seen from Hoopa Valley, the center of the Hupa world, the place where according to legend "people came into being." It was toward this center that miners, settlers, and other "strangers" arrived, greedy for land and wealth, fearful and at the same time contemptuous of the native population. Here Fort Gaston was established, at first protecting the Hupa against "volunteer" companies and perverted "Indian killers" such as Hank Larabee who boasted of having killed sixty infants with a hatchet, but later becoming itself a source of trouble as soldiers far from town took their night's entertainment where they could find it. It was at this center that the Hupa fought among them-

An early location for
San Francisco's Levi Strauss
& Company was on
Battery Street.

selves in a feud condoned by a military commander who claimed: "It would be a Godsent for both parties to get killed." It was to and from this center that a steady parade of almost Dickensian characters arrived and departed: Indian agents who ran the gamut from humane to utterly corrupt, missionaries, superintendents, surveyors, and others. It was here at the center of their world that the Hupa fought, and are still fighting, skillfully and persistently, to preserve their land and their culture.

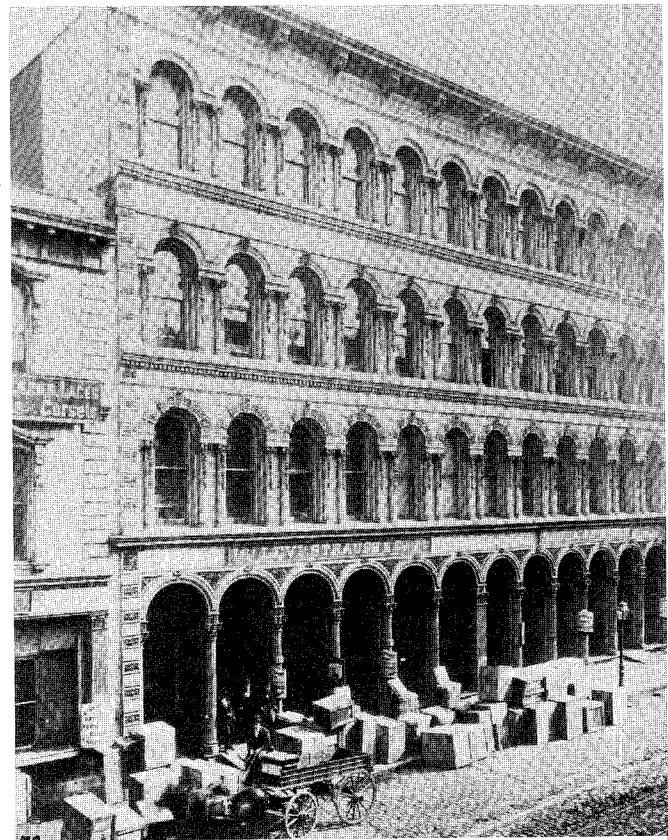
Beyond scholarship, style, and clarity of focus the book is also outstanding for the deep kindness and familiarity with which the author and contributors treat the past. *Our Home Forever* is not the study of a distant, exotic tribe. Rather, it is family history, the story of grandparents and great-grandparents, the story of a culture still remembered, still cherished, and — one rejoices in the miracle — still very much alive. The kindness and familiarity that suffuse the writing make this a book that one comes to admire, but more than that, a book that one comes to love.

Levi's: The "Shrink-to-Fit" Business that Stretched to Cover the World.

By Ed Cray (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978. 286 pp. \$9.95.)

Reviewed by Moses Rischin, Professor of History at San Francisco State University, whose latest book is The Jews of the West: The Metropolitan Years.

When Berkeley became the hub of the youth revolt of the 1960s, San Francisco's Levi Strauss Company, led by older Berkeley alumni, escalated the manufacture of blue jeans until denim became the world-wide emblem of post-industrial America's fashionably unfashionable haute-couture. Not since Henry Ford's Model T has a product become so associated in the public mind with quality and durability and so identified with the "American way of life" as have the ubiquitous Levi's. Clearly by the early 1970s when Levi Strauss and Co. had zoomed past Hart Schaffner and Marx in *Fortune* magazine's ranking of the 500 largest industrials, the western sunbelt had displaced



the older American heartland as standard bearer of the nation's life styles.

Ed Cray's sprightly popular history of the world's largest apparel manufacturer deserves a wide readership. From the founding of the original dry goods company in San Francisco in 1853 through the patenting in 1872 of Jacob Davis's riveted pants and its modest marketing, primarily in the west, to its rocketlike ascent in the 1950s and 1960s to the mythic manufacturing firm of the western world, the fascinating story in all its vicissitudes unfolds in rich anecdotal and personal detail. With sales standing at slightly over \$4,000,000 in 1941, but a shade higher than they had been in 1929, Levi's sales rose to \$152,000,000 in 1966 and approached \$2,000,000,000 at the close of the 1970s, just a decade after one of the half-dozen family firms in the nation had opted to go public.

In a book intended for a wide readership, the author does not probe very deeply into the changing social, cultural, religious, personal and business milieus that shaped the Strausses, Sterns, Koshlands and Haases and their descendants. The early pioneers who in the mid-nineteenth century left their tiny Bavarian birthplaces of Buttenheim, Ickenhausen, and Reckenderf for the western urban frontier were to play an important role in developing San Francisco civic culture. Although Cray alludes to the traditions of social responsibility that were to be infused into the Levi Strauss Company, he does not adequately explore or elaborate on the many suggestive clues dropped along the

way that might give the reader a larger grasp of that role.

In 1914 when Louis Brandeis spoke of business as a profession alongside law, medicine and theology, he insisted that business too was a vocation and a public trust. It called for intellectual preparation, goals that could be justified in social and not merely in private terms, and standards of success that were only in part to be measured by financial gain. Clearly Levi's and its officers have played a creative role in labor, race and human relations, in social and community service, in civic internationalism and religious leadership as well as in cultural affairs that extended far beyond the bounds of enlightened business practice even as enunciated by Brandeis. The present leaders appear determined to keep Levi's "small," to shun the temptation of the demon conglomerate, and to draw on the social capital of their distinctive business tradition. Levi's is a lively handbook and exemplar of one business's determination to stay human.

Essays in Population History: Mexico and California.

By Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. xiii, 333 pp. Index. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, Department of History, Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill, California.

The three essays contained in this volume shed important new light on several topics in the history of Mexico and California. Using a recently discovered seventeenth-century document of royal revenues and tribute assessments, Professors Cook and Borah establish in their first essay that by 1620-1625 the Indian population of central Mexico had fallen to about three percent of its size at the time of first European contact. The magnitude of this decline is distinctly greater than previously thought. In the second essay Cook and Borah conclude that the nutritional level of Indians in central Mexico prior to the Spanish Conquest was "extremely low," and that under the new order per capita food production and consumption improved significantly.

California historians will be most interested in the third essay, an analysis of the vital statistics in the registers of eight northern California missions. One of the most unexpected results of this analysis is the variability of experience from mission to mission. Indians at Santa Cruz, for example, survived an average of eight and a half years after conversion, while those at San Luis Obispo survived more than twice as long. The infant mortality rate was also erratic, but generally ran high throughout the mission period: more than half the neophytes born in the missions died before their fifth birthday. Though shocking by present standards, Cook and Borah demonstrate that this rate was not much worse than that in contemporary parishes in Europe. The registers indicate as well that by the end of the mission period the neophyte population was beginning to show faint signs of "demographic recovery." Ever since Cook's pioneer work in the 1940s he had been identified as a chief critic of the California mission system, yet here he and Borah conclude that "It is unfortunate that political developments cut short this interesting human and biological experiment."

Cook and Borah also mine the mission registers for information on the non-Indian population of early California. They report that the infant mortality rate of the *gente de razón* was far below that of the mission Indians and, surprisingly, even lower than that of contemporary Europeans at localities in France and England. "Clearly the environment of Alta California was extraordinarily favorable to the Hispanic population." The registers also reveal the growing presence of non-Spanish-speaking immigrants in California — by 1854 about one-fifth of the white infants baptized at the former missions were of mixed Hispano and Anglo parentage.

In these essays Cook and Borah reopen inquiries into topics long neglected, such as aboriginal nutrition levels, and demonstrate also that new methods of analysis can yield insights into such overworked areas as the California missions. The present volume is the last which will come from this distinguished team of collaborators — Cook died in 1974 — but in it the authors serve well the next generation of scholars. They present their findings with great clarity, they describe in detail their methods of historical detection, and they conclude with questions which may only be answered with additional research.

The photographs are from the CHS Library.

California Check List

By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1978-79) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Adams, Ansel. *Yosemite and the Range of Light*. Oakland: Oakland Museum, 1979. Publisher, 1000 Oak St., Oakland. \$14.95.

All Night Los Angeles. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1979. Publisher, 870 Market St., San Francisco, 94102. \$4.95.

America, History and Life, Part D, Annual Index, Vol. 15, 1978. Santa Barbara: American Bibliographical Center, Clio Press, 1979. 560 pp. Publisher, Library, ABX-Clio, P.O. Box 4397, Santa Barbara, 93103. (no price listed).

Art in San Francisco. San Francisco: San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, 1979. 35 pp. Publisher, 939 Ellis St., San Francisco, 94109. \$3.00.

Beers, Henry P. *Spanish and Mexican Records of the American Southwest; A Bibliographic Guide to Archive and Manuscript Sources*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979. 493 pp. Publisher, Box 3398, Tucson, Arizona, 85722. \$18.50.

Bennett, Mel. *Stockton's Theatre of Yesterday, One Hundred Years of Theatre in Stockton, 1850-1950; the Pictorial Story*. Aptos: Willow House, 1979. 194 pp. Publisher, Box 155, Aptos, 95003. \$21.20.

Berg, Peter. *Reinhabiting a Separate Country (A Bioregional Anthology of Northern California)*. San Francisco: Planet Drum Books, 1979. 224 pp. Publisher, Box 31251, Dept. B., San Francisco, 94131. \$6.00.

Bernhardi, Robert. *The Buildings of Oakland*. Oakland: Forest Hill Press, 1979.

116 pp. Publisher, 3974 Forest Hill Ave., Oakland, 94602. \$14.95.

Black, Ester Boulton. *Stories of Old Upland*. Upland: Chaffey Communities Cultural Center, 1979. 124 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 772, Upland, 91786. (no price listed).

Brand Book Number Six. San Diego: The Westerners, San Diego Corral, 1979. 218 pp. Limited eds. Publisher, P.O. Box 7174, San Diego, 92107. \$28.00.

Bronson, Roy. *The Law Firm of Bronson, Bronson & McKinnon: 1919-1941*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Bancroft Library. Regional Oral History Office, 1978. 279 pp. (Available to non-circulating libraries only). \$34.00.

Browning, Peter. *Roaming the Back Roads: Day Trips By Car Through Northern California*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1979. 175 pp. Publisher, 870 Market St., San Francisco, 94102. \$5.95.

Caldwell, Jayne Craven. *Carpinteria As It Was*. Carpinteria: Papillon Press, 1979. 228 pp. Publisher, 1232 Vallecito Road, Carpinteria, 93013. \$9.95.

California. Dept. of Parks & Recreation. *The User's Guide to PARIS, Park & Recreation Information System*. Sacramento: State of California, 1978. 85 pp. Publisher, Resources Agency, Dept. of Parks & Recreation, Sacramento. (no price listed).

Calistoga Walking Guide. 3rd printing. Napa: Napa Landmarks, Inc., 1979. Publisher, P.O. Box 702, Napa, 94558. \$7.75.

Callahan, Bob. *A Jaime De Angulo Reader*. Berkeley: Turtle Island, 1979. 253 pp. Publisher, 2845 Buena Vista Way, Berkeley, 94708. \$8.95.

Campa, Arthur L. *Hispanic Culture in the Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979. Publisher, 1005 Asp Ave., Norman, Oklahoma, 73069. \$25.00.

Canan, Janine. *The Hunger*. Berkeley: Oyez Press, 1979. Publisher, Bob Hawley, Ross Valley Book Co., Inc., 1407 Solano Ave., Albany, 94706. (no price listed).

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- Candler, G. M. *The Way West*. Claverton Manor, Bath, Avon: American Museum. 92 pp. (no price listed).
- Carpenter, Virginia. *Canada de la Brea: Ghost Rancho*. Santa Ana: Orange County Historical Society, 1978. 60 pp. Publisher, 2002 North Main St., Santa Ana, 92706. \$5.00.
- Carson, Robert (ed.) *The Waterfront Writers, the Literature of Work*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979. \$10.00.
- Charles, Caroline Moore. *The Action and Passion of Our Times*. Berkeley: University of California. Bancroft Library. Regional Oral History Office, 1979. 310 pp. \$44.00. (Available to non-circulating libraries only)
- Clark, Jessie Howe. *Historical Sketches: Recalling Early Times and People of the Pinole, California Area*. 156 pp. 1979. \$7.75.
- Corbett, Michael R. *Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage*. San Francisco: Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage, 1979. 271 pp. \$32.50 (cloth); \$19.95 (paper).
- Crown Zellerbach: *Timber, Technology, and Corporate Development in the Pacific Northwest, 1920 to 1965*. Berkeley: University of California. Bancroft Library. Regional Oral History Office, 1979. 310 pp. (no price listed).
- Dean, J. Robert. *A Land Called California*. Mill Valley: Pacific Sun Press, 1979. 215 pp. \$24.95.
- [Delehanty, Randolph] *California Great House Locator: Up-to-date Guide to California's Victorians, Great Estates, and Gardens Open to the Public!* San Francisco: California Street Design Co., Inc., 1979. Numbered map with text. Publisher, 215 Market St., San Francisco, 94105. \$3.95.
- Dillon, Richard, Thomas Moulin, & Don DeNevi. *High Steel: Building the Bridges Across San Francisco Bay*. Millbrae: Celestial Arts, 1979. 166 pp. Publisher, 231 Adrian Road, Millbrae, 94030. \$25.00.
- Dozier, Dave F. *Main Street, Susanville, 1910*. Susanville: Lassen County Historical Society, 1979. 38 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 321, Susanville, 96130. (no price listed).
- Erdoes, Richard. *Saloons of the Old West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. 277 pp. \$13.95.
- Etulain, Richard W. *Jack London on the Road - the Tramp Diary and Other Hobo Writings*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1979. \$7.50 (cloth); \$4.50 (paper).
- Everson, William. *Earth Poetry: Selected Essays & Interviews*. Edited by Lee Bartlett. Berkeley: 1979. \$10.95 (cloth); \$9.50 (paper).
- Ferrell, Mallory Hope. *West Side: Narrow Gauge in the Sierra*. Edmonds, Washington: Pacific Fast Mail, 1979. 320 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 57, Edmonds, Washington, 98020. \$29.50.
- Fairley, Lincoln. *Facing Mechanization: The West Coast Longshore Plan*. Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations. University of California at Los Angeles, 1979. Publisher, 9244 Bunche Hall, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, 90024. (no price listed).
- Farallones Institute. *The Integral Urban House: Self-reliant Living in the City*. Sierra Club Books, 1979. 494 pp. \$12.95.
- Fitzgerald, Kathleen. *Architecture Napa: A Guide to the Land, the Buildings, and Styles of Napa County*. Napa: Napa Landmarks, Inc., 1979. 41 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 702, Napa, 94558. \$4.95.
- Fullerton, George E. et. al. *The Zamorano Club: The First Half Century, 1928-1978*. Los Angeles: The Zamorano Club, 1978. 99 pp. (Available to members only)
- George, Gerald & Mollie Rights. *The Moveable Fleet: A Boatwatcher's Guide*. California Living Book, 1979. \$4.95.
- Golovnin, V. M. *Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819*. Honolulu: The Hawaiian Historical Society and the University Press of Hawaii, 1979. 353 pp. \$20.00.
- Halpern, John. *Los Angeles: Improbable City*. New York: E. P. Dutton Co., 1979. \$19.95 (cloth); \$10.95 (paper).
- Hayne, Francis Bourn. *En Un Tiempo: Early Days of the Society of Los Alamos, Santa Barbara County, California*. Napa: Schieck Printing, Inc., 1979. 131 pp. (no price listed).
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- Horgan, Paul. *Josiah Gregg and His Vision of the Early West*. New York, 1979. 116 pp. \$8.95.
- Howard, Donald M. *Prehistoric Sites Handbook: Monterey and San Luis Obispo Counties*. Carmel: Monterey County Archaeological Society, 1979. Publisher, Monterey County Archaeological Society, P.O. Box 4606, Carmel, 93921. \$19.95.
- Illustrations of Contra Costa County, California with Historical Sketches by Smith and Elliott, 1879* Facsimile. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1979. 208 pp. Publisher, 1759 Fulton St., Fresno, 93721. \$32.50.
- Inventory of Records, 1834-1978, Office of the Recorder, Sonoma County, California*. Santa Rosa: Recorder's Office, County of Sonoma, 1979. 80 pp. Publisher, 2555 Mendocino Ave., Santa Rosa, 95401. (no price listed).
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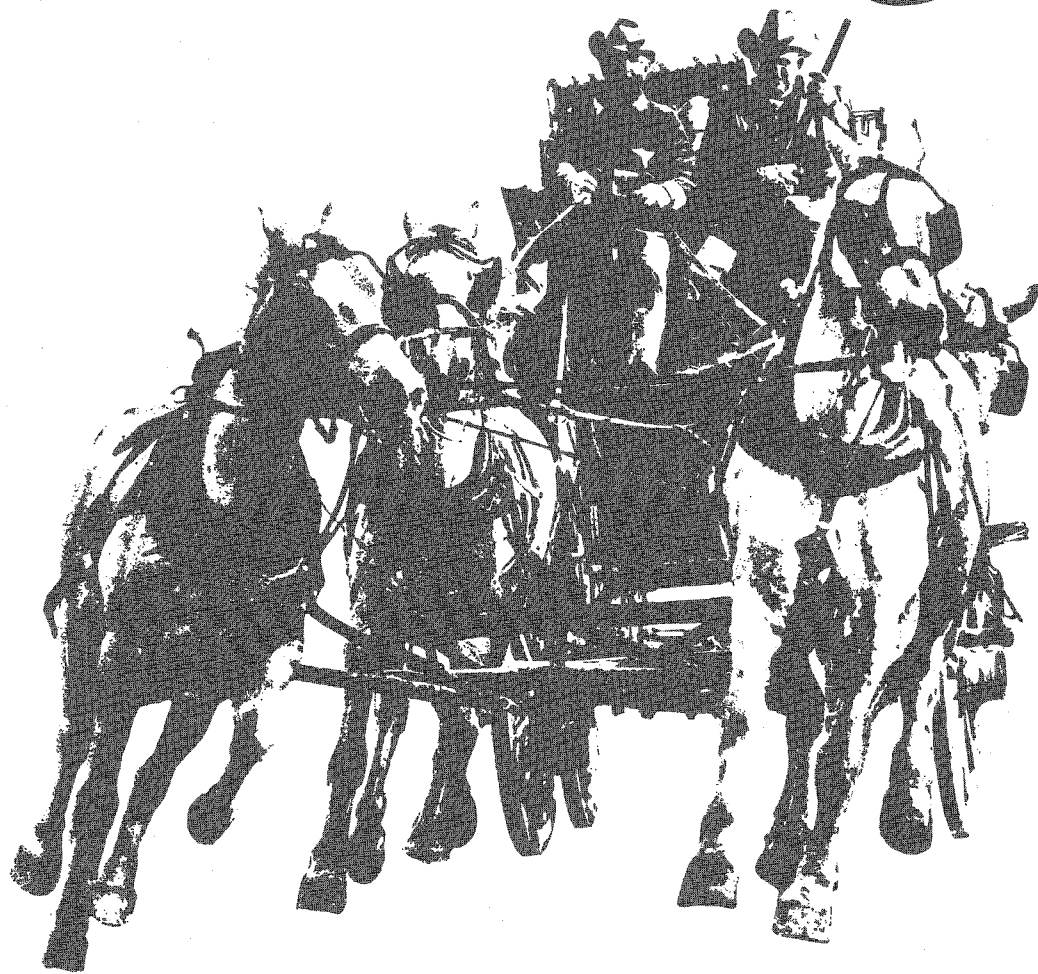
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